40286

National Library of Canada / Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* Cecil Leroy RACE

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* Compulsory Schooling in Alberta (1888-1942)

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* University of Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/ *GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* M. Ed.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1978

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* Dr. R.S. Patterson

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

DATED/*DATÉ* Oct 10, 1978 SIGNED/*SIGNÉ*

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXÉ* P.O. Box 635
Leduc, Alberta
T9E 2Y4

NL-91 (3-74)

National Library of Canada

Cataloguing Branch
Canadian Theses Division

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Direction du catalogage
Division des thèses canadiennes

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL-339 (3/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING IN ALBERTA (1888-1942)

by

© CECIL L. RACE

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF EDUCATION
IN
THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1978

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recomment to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Compulsory Schooling in Alberta (1888-1942)"

submitted by Cecil L. Race

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education

in History of Education

R. S. Patterson
Supervisor

Robert Carney

John J. Bergen

Date May 16, 1978

Dedicated to my wife, Pat,
and our children Allison, David and Stephen

ABSTRACT

The original provisions for compulsory schooling in Alberta were introduced in 1888 by the legislature of the Northwest Territories. The interest in and provisions for compulsory schooling were both part of a generalized phenomenon, evident in other provinces of Canada and in most countries of the Western World beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This study explores the spreading interest in compulsory schooling in Alberta and provides a description and analysis of the historical developments related to its growth.

The term "compulsory schooling" rather than the more common term "compulsory attendance" has been utilized in the study. Its meaning encompasses the requirement of erecting and operating schools as well as the legal necessity for children of particular ages to attend these schools. In this way an attempt is made to describe and assess the factors affecting both school functioning and school attendance.

Documents and correspondence outlining the legislative and administrative actions of government, including the enforcement activities of field personnel, were the main sources of data for the study. The author's examination of these materials reveals a dominant concern of government officials for the quality of schooling in rural Alberta. The

major re-organization of school districts undertaken in the late 1930's helped diminish the concern, with the result that the sophisticated machinery related to enforcing school attendance was dismantled shortly thereafter.

The results of the author's investigations indicate that the government maintained a strong interest in the development and efficient operation of a state school system, as a vital social agency in a rapidly growing province. The public schools were viewed as an important medium for assimilating foreign immigrants. A stringent control of private schools was exercised. Extensive investigative powers were made available to attendance officers, who functioned not only as government agents but as agents of the dominent cultural norm which emphasized the importance of schooling in society.

Improvements in school attendance appeared to result more from positive forces operating in people's lives, such as a desire for schooling, than from negative forces, such as the dynamics of enforcement. In actual fact, the enforcement process dealt with a small minority of Albertans, operated inefficiently and, except for a limited preventive function which it exercised, had little impact upon school attendance. An unsolicited interest in schooling appeared to be a widespread phenomenon which motivated developments, such as the voluntary and speedy erection of schools in pioneer settlements, the public demand for high school instruction, and voluntary rather than compelled attendance.

As conditions affecting the accessibility of schools improved, there was a corresponding increase in levels of attendance.

To the vast majority of Albertans, compulsory schooling legislation essentially served a reassurance function, standing as formalized, legal support of a belief in the value of schooling. It can also be said that the history of compulsory schooling in Alberta is not so much a history of compelled schooling as it is of voluntary participation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am grateful to my supervising professor, Dr. R.S. Patterson, for his encouragement, kind understanding and constructive criticism throughout the duration of the project. I appreciate the assistance of Dr. R.J. Carney in suggesting revisions to the thesis and the willingness of Dr. J. Bergen to serve as a member of the examining committee.

I also wish to acknowledge the skillful assistance provided by my typist, Jan Majeski.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 1

The Need for the Study 1

Purpose of the Study 8

Nature of the Study 8

Definition of Terms 12

Sources of Research Material 13

Footnotes to Chapter I 17

II. THE INTERNATIONAL LEGACY 20

Introduction 20

The Religious Call to Action 21

Compulsory Schooling as a Political Ideal 26

Other Persuasive Factors 28

Retarding Influences 31

Compulsory Schooling in England 34

Compulsory Schooling in United States . 36

Compulsory Schooling in Canada 38

Conclusion 40

Footnotes to Chapter II 44

III. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM: THE SYMBOLIC STAGE (1888-1909) 48

Introduction 48

The Movement Toward State Schools . . . 50

The National School Ideology 54
The Influx of Settlers 55
The Desire for Schools 57
School Grants 62
Compulsory Schooling Legislation 70
Conclusion 79
Footnotes to Chapter III 81
IV. DEVELOPING THE STRUCTURE: THE BEGINNING OF THE BUREAUCRATIC STAGE (1910-1923) 85
Introduction 85
The Need for New Legislation 87
The Truancy Act (1910) 88
Further Legislative Changes 95
The Claim of Early Success 102
The Bureaucracy at Work: The Personnel and the Process 105
Compulsory Schooling and the Ethnic Question 110
State Power Re-Affirmed:- the Ulmer Case 117
Conclusion 120
Footnotes to Chapter IV 122
V. LIVING WITHIN A COMFORTABLE FRAMEWORK: THE FULFILLMENT OF THE BUREAUCRATIC STAGE (1924-1942) 129
Introduction 129
The Comfortable Framework 129

School Progress During the 1920's and 1930's 132
A Decline in Reporting About Attendance 139
Changes in Legislation 141
A Pride in Statistics 144
The Illusion of Victory 146
Conclusion 147
Footnotes to Chapter V 149
VI. ANALYSIS: THE FACTORS AFFECTING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE 151
Introduction 151

The Enforcement Process

A. The Impotence of Enforcement 151
1. Exemptions in Legislation 152
2. Scope for Subjective Judgment . . 153
3. Bureaucratic Inefficiencies . . . 154
4. Inspectors' Workload 156
B. The Preventive Function of Enforcement 159

Other Variables Affecting Enforcement

A. Attendance and Economic Circumstances 162
B. Attendance Under Pioneer Conditions 164

C. Attendance and Government Grants for Schooling 165
D. Attendance and School District Re-Organization 166
E. Attendance and Teacher Supply . . . 170
F. Attendance and Provision for Special Needs of Children 172

The Desire for Schooling

A. Evidence From the Voluntary Erection of Schools 175
B. Evidence From Voluntary Attendance 175
C. Evidence From the Public Demand for High Schools 178
D. Enforcement Statistics as an Indicator 180
Conclusion 185
Footnotes to Chapter VI 187
VII CONCLUSION 190
Concluding Remarks 190
Recommendations for Future Study . . . 198
Footnotes to Chapter VII 200

***

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 201
APPENDIX A: THE TRUANCY ACT, 1910 210

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE CORRESPONDENCE ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION RELATING TO SANCTIONED SCHOOL ABSENCE. (1917)

APPENDIX C: SAMPLES OF DEPARTMENTAL CORRESPONDENCE INDICATING THE BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE MATTERS. (1917-1920)

APPENDIX D: ILLUSTRATIONS OF LEGALISTIC PROCEDURES AS PART OF THE ENFORCEMENT PROCESS (EXCERPTS FROM THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE ACT AS AMENDED IN 1918 and 1919)

APPENDIX E: SAMPLES OF DEPARTMENTAL CORRESPONDENCE INDICATING THE BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF MATTERS RELATED TO THE OPERATION OF SCHOOLS (1917).

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Description	Page
I	Growth in Factors Related to Schooling in the North-West Territories (1888-1904)	57
II	Funding for School Operation in the Edmonton Public School System (1905-1909)	69
III	Comparison of School Attendance in Alberta of Rural and Urban Students Ages Seven to Fourteen (1921)	131
IV	Growth in Alberta's Total Population and School Population By Decade (1901-1941)	133
V	Improvements in Factors Related to the Operation of Schools and School Attendance in Alberta (1905-1941)	134
VI	Alberta's Children Ages Seven to Fourteen, at School Compared to Total Population, Ages Seven to Fourteen By Decade (1911-1941)	136
VII	Percentage of Total Rural Schools in Operation for Given Lengths of Time Per Year in Alberta (1925-1940)	137
VIII	Average Attendance as a Percentage of Total Enrolment in Alberta Schools By Decade (1921-1941)	138
IX	Factors Related to School Inspection in Alberta (1914-1934)	160

X Effective Educational Coverage in Canada, 1940 (School Enrolment as a Percentage of Child Population Aged Five to Seventeen) 170

XI Attendance of Alberta Pupils of All Ages Compared to Pupils of Compulsory Attendance Ages By Decade (1921-1941) 176

XII Data Related to Alberta Pupils Leaving School at Age Fifteen (1920-1940) 177

XIII Growth in Alberta High School Enrolment (1905-1940) 179

XIV Data Related to the Enforcement of School Attendance in Alberta's Rural Schools (1918-1937) 181

XV Data Related to the Enforcement of School Attendance in Alberta's Urban Schools (1918-1937) 183

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary society we find ourselves in a position where, as Charles Woltz has stated, "attendance at school by the vast majority of children of school age is a fact accepted as normal by everyone, and as proper by all except a few."[1] The legal requirements that school be provided and that children attend stand as seldom-challenged demands placed by the State upon its citizens. In short, the phenomenon of compulsory schooling generally is considered as obviously desirable.

Reflected in this situation of ready acceptance is a continuing appreciation of schools and schooling. Both the institution and the process are considered by most people to be functional instruments in satisfying societal needs and in combatting its problems.

The belief in schools and schooling has become so deeply engrained that we no longer hear the sustained rhetoric justifying the place of schooling in our lives. It is almost as though schooling is now acknowledged as an unchallenged essential of our social existence. We have become socially conditioned to the value and importance of schools and readily accept the fact the children will attend and that the large expenditures necessary for such an enterprise will be borne by society. Eugen

Ehrlich illustrates the psychological dynamics which can explain such an unquestioning faith:

> The important norms function only through suggestion. They come to man in the form of commands or of prohibitions; they are addressed to him without a statement of the reason on which they are based; and he obeys them without a moment's reflection. They have not subdued man but have educated him. They are being impressed upon his mind in his childhood; an "It is not done", "It is not proper", "Thus hath God commanded" follows him through his whole life. And he submits with a willingness which is greater the more emphatically experience brings home to him the advantages of obedience and the disadvantages of disobedience.[2]

While there may be a great deal of criticism directed at the nature of the school experience, there are only a few radical voices which have dared challenge the basic idea of schooling. Although there may be evident dissatisfaction with the content, the process and the costs of schooling, concerted efforts have been made to make schooling more widely accessible and all-inclusive of the young of our society.

Not only have the assumptions about the value of schooling and the need for compulsory regulations become firmly rooted but so too have the related language and symbolism become entrenched. Most of these descriptive phrases or images refer to past practice, yet they continue to have a potency of meaning in contemporary discourse. As such they tend to substantiate the strong faith in compulsory schooling.

A phrase such as 'playing hookey', for example, has as clear a denotation for today's students as it did for yesterday's. Similarly, the descriptive label "truant officer" is far from being an obsolete term even though its usage in Alberta was officially terminated in 1916. The spectre of education's bogey-man at work, peeking under billiard tables and knocking on neighbor's doors, still elicits from mind and emotion a powerful response. Woltz offers the following description of the role of the truant officer in an earlier generation:

> When I and most of those who read this were of an age when the sound of the school bell had little music in it, and the imagined sight of bass breaking water in the pond laid temptation heavy on us, the truant officer was a figure to be reckoned with. He was a fierce minion of the law, a spoil sport, a creature who had as little of the milk of human kindness in him as the dog-catcher, his delight being to lie in wait and pounce upon the unwary lad bent upon innocent fun. [3]

The image remains even though modern-day truant officers (attendance officers), where they exist, have shifted their orientation from truancy-as-offense to truancy-as-symptom. The new orientation views truancy as a purposeful action which may reflect, on the one hand an innocent testing of the bounds of pupil control or, on the other hand, a personal problem requiring professional intervention.

The unquestioned acceptance of schools and compulsory schooling approaches the point of paradox in an era wherein the schools are viewed by some to be inadequate in their functioning and where length of schooling seems to have limited impact upon social status or salary. The paradox is set in even sharper relief when one considers the full meaning of the concept of compulsion within compulsory schooling against the backdrop of a supposedly free society. In an age where human rights are being accentuated, it seems unusual that legislation in Alberta, which from the earliest legal formulation has given police powers to attendance officers and has provided legal sanctions to challenge the non-compliance of parents, is still in such an accepted position.

Criticism of the conventional arrangement of structure and belief has come from a variety of sectors and has been directed to both the value of schooling and the appropriateness of compulsion. Among the more persuasive and vocal are a group of revisionist historians who have raised questions about the value and function of schooling. It is their general opinion that schools have not been as positive a contributor to society as the "myth builders" would have us believe, but instead have been instruments of social control employed by the dominant element in society to keep people in their appropriate economic and social places.

Given their view of the contribution of schooling, such historians as David Tyack, Michael Katz, Colin Greer and Stanley Schultz argue the need to re-examine the place and nature of schooling in our society. They attempt to lay bare what they regard as the educational and cultural mythology which rationalizes and justifies many current attitudes and practices. For example, Michael Katz finds it ironic that "compulsion, once a radical proposition, ... is now a reflex, a habit and the burden of radical innovation has fallen to those who would attack it."[4] David Tyack tells us that the great upsurge in public school attendance in nineteenth-century America resulted in most cases from "a broad consensus on the value of schooling rather than imposition by the force of government."[5] Compulsory schooling laws, he maintains, were often enacted after the fact of improved attendance, were sporadically and inefficiently enforced and were aimed at a deviant minority which did not ascribe importance to schooling. Colin Greer, in his book The Great School Legend refers to the illusion about the public schools in American society which historically has granted them such prominence that "the faith in that legend is so great that most social problems ... are seen as unique phenomena, exceptions to the rule, phenomena which the schools will eventually mitigate."[6]

A limited number of analysts of contemporary schooling go even further than these revisionists and question the value of institutionalized schooling. Social critics such as Paul Goodman and Ivan Illich bring to bear unique perspectives which pose a bold challenge to the casual assumptions of our society. In his book Compulsory Mis-Education Goodman tells us that "the compulsory system has become a universal trap and is no good. Very many of our youth, both poor and middle class, might be better off if the system did not exist, even if they had no formal schooling at all."[7] To Goodman, education must be voluntary rather then compulsory since "no growth to freedom occurs except by intrinsic motivation."[8] He calls for an expansion of educational opportunities and a demolition of present monolithic school systems.

Ivan Illich, in arguing for the need to de-school society, decries the mentality which accepts that education can only properly be attained through schooling.[9] Schools, to Illich, are artificial settings which "remove children from the everyday world of Western culture and plunge them into an environment far more primitive, magical and deadly serious."[10] They also are seen to be hierarchial institutions reflecting and buttressing the dominant forces and values in society. Illich exhorts us to dis-establish them and to believe that "the inverse of school is possible: that we can depend on self-motivated learning instead of employing teachers to bribe or compel the student to find the time and the will to learn; that we can provide the learner with new links to the world instead of continuing to funnel all educational programs through the teacher."[11]

Even though these men direct their criticism mainly to the condition of post-primary schooling in urban America, for example to the spectre of schools patrolled by armed guards, the central element of compulsion in contemporary schooling is still a vital target. We are challenged to re-evaluate the compulsory aspects which characterize current practice. These attributes need not be revered, we are told, simply because they have endured but should be examined in terms of their applicability to today's needs and tomorrow's requirements.

Studies in the history of compulsory schooling can help greatly in clarifying the historical legacy which is associated with contemporary structures, attitudes and practices. This area of school regulation and practice has commanded an increased degree of interest in recent years, particularly in the United States. However, research on this subject in other national settings, unfortunately, has been very limited. Research in the history of Canadian education has paid little attention to this subject.

Not only are further studies valuable because of the information they provide about compulsory schooling under particular circumstances but they also help build a basis for comparative analysis and generalization.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to present a description and analysis of the historical developments related to compulsory schooling in the Province of Alberta. Because the province was built upon the foundation established by the residents of the North-West Territories, the study will begin in the Territorial period with the introduction in 1888 of the first compulsory schooling legislation. It ends in 1942 with the dismantling of an elaborate reporting and enforcing system which had attempted to regulate school attendance since 1910.

Nature of the Study

The 'Alberta experience' in compulsory schooling has many unique aspects. In broad outline however, its developmental profile is similar to those in most Western nations and in fact it appears to be part of a larger movement.

For this reason the study begins with a look at compulsory schooling as it developed internationally. Following a consideration of the larger movement and the growth of compulsory schooling, the focus of the study shifts to an examination of the specific developments which characterize the Alberta experience. These developments are assessed against the background of certain theoretical considerations.

The first relates to the motivation behind the expansion of public schooling and improvements in school attendance. Social control theorists such as Katz and Prentice[12] suggest that negative forces provided the main impetus. For example, Katz maintains that in the United States these changes were the result of efforts directed by "a coalition of the social leaders, status-anxious parents, and status-hungry educators to impose educational innovation, each for their own reasons, upon a reluctant community."[13] On the other hand, Tyack contends that a positive dynamic was a central ingredient on the American scene, in the form of a broad consensus concerning the value of schooling which was reflected in a willingness for public financing and public control of schools and in significant improvements in the level of attendance.[14] It is important to determine whether or not either of these two scenarios describes educational developments in Alberta.

The second theoretical consideration is also related to motivation for action. Neil Sutherland has documented the concern expressed by social reformers in Canada during the period 1880-1920 relating to conditions affecting children.[15] He contends that the concern was often generated by the perceived effects of an increasing urbanization and industrialization in the country, and that as a result a variety of programs were instituted either to protect the rights of children or to assist in effective child rearing. Rebecca Coulter's recent thesis relates the concern to child welfare activities in Alberta soon after the turn of the century.[16] It is useful to determine if the development of compulsory schooling legislation and the related activities of government personnel were associated with this movement.

Thirdly, a theoretical framework is used by the author to help describe and analyze the specific developments in relation to compulsory schooling in Alberta. The framework is taken from the work of David Tyack in which he discusses the history of compulsory attendance in the United States.[17] An attempt is made, through the process of this study, to determine its usefulness beyond the American context.

In his model Tyack denotes two distinct phases of development and describes each briefly. The first is the symbolic stage. It is Tyack's claim that initial compulsory schooling legislation was relatively unenforceable, due for example to a lack of specificity in wording, or unenforced, due to factors such as an ambivalent attitude held by school and governmental personnel and a lack of a sufficient number of enforcers. Little attention was given to organized methods of enforcing attendance. Consequently, the legislation had a limited impact upon children and their parents. In this early stage of development it can be said, according to Tyack, that compulsory schooling legislation encapsulated the strong belief in schools and the schooling process which was held by most citizens. However, there was little movement beyond the statement of belief toward the establishment of procedures which would help guarantee that the intent of the legislation was carried out.

Tyack's second stage, the bureaucratic stage, is characterized mainly by the development and operation of an organizational apparatus geared to make effective the compulsory schooling legislation enacted earlier. In many situations stronger laws were introduced to permit vigorous and defensible activity by school authorities and government personnel. The bureaucratic system established for this task often developed sophisticated techniques to force the attendance of truants.

Besides attempting to ascertain the degree to which the Alberta experience fits Tyack's theoretical framework, the author will attempt to answer the following questions: Did the Alberta experience with compulsory schooling parallel, in time and substance, the developments occurring on the national and international scene? What developments characterized the Alberta experience in compulsory schooling? Was the enforcement process an exercise in social and/or cultural control? To what extent were levels of school attendance in Alberta a function of positive forces, such as a desire for schooling, and to what extent were they a function of negative forces, such as the vigor of enforcement of attendance?

Definition of Terms

In its strictest sense the phrase "compulsory schooling" encompasses two distinct yet equally essential ingredients. In order to be able to have children attend school it was necessary for them to have access to a school. Hence compulsory schooling placed the expectation before ratepayers and residents that schools would be erected and operated. As well, it placed before children and parents the requirement that children attend these schools. Both requirements were embodied in legislation.

The process of enforcing the mandatory provisions of the legislation centered almost exclusively upon the attendance of pupils. Similarly, most research has been directed to this aspect rather than to the erection and operation of schools. As a result, the terms "compulsory schooling" and "compulsory attendance" have come to be considered as being almost synonymous in meaning. However, the author attempts to utilize a precision of definition which retains the distinct and separate meaning for each term.

In normal usage the terms "compulsory schooling" and "compulsory education" also have been used interchangeably. Of the two, the former is the more precise and will be employed by the author in the context of this study. The term "compulsory schooling" has an explicit institutional reference whereas the term "compulsory education" could conceivably refer to activities undertaken within other institutions or agencies which have an educative function in our society. This differentiation in meaning, although important to this study, usually has not been made in previous research. In fact, most of the pertinent literature and historical documents which were consulted for the purpose of this study have employed the phrase "compulsory education" in usage directed exclusively toward the process of schooling.

The terms "state schools", "national schools", "public schools" and "common schools" are to be considered as synonymous in this study and will be utilized as descriptions of the system of schools established for the education of all children. A differentiation between public and separate schools, as the terms are commonly used in reference to the Alberta system, is not necessary for the purpose of this study.

Sources of Research Material

Material upon which this study is based is primarily printed material, in the form of books, periodicals and reports obtained from libraries and archive collections.

The subject of compulsory schooling or compulsory attendance has received relatively little attention from educational writers and for this reason there is a rather limited literature to which the author has been able to refer. As could be predicted, most educational historians, of which Cubberley, Butts, Good and Philipps[18] are examples, have viewed this phenomenon as a positive development within the context of a grand progression toward the realization of fully-functional national school systems. However, the subject has received little direct attention in these works and often has been accorded only incidental mention.

The revisionist historians, referred to earlier, have challenged this positive perspective and have provided a critical view of the school and of compulsory attendance. In the recent past significant works, such as the ones of Katz and Tyack which have been mentioned, have added greatly to the research on the subject of compulsory schooling. These efforts have been particularly helpful in stressing the crucial role which ideology plays in the educational enterprise and in encouraging an open-mindedness when assessing the motives and attitudes which gave birth to and sustained particular school practices.

Available research which relates solely to the subject of compulsory schooling is found largely in the form of periodical literature and therefore is not extensive in its coverage. Besides the problem of brevity, most of the articles are limited to description and do not contain much analysis. Examples of journal articles of topical interest are the studies of Carlile, Perrin, Jernegan, Woltz, and Miller.[19] A noted exception to the stated limitations in Tyack's recent journal article,[20] which is primarily analytical.

As with the national histories, information about the history of compulsory schooling in Alberta is very limited. Most data are subsumed within the documentation of the growth of public education in the province and in many of the works the same ideological bias is evident. Useful works include those of Phillips; Shortt and Doughty; Wilson, Stamp and Audet; and Chalmers.[21] Theses dealing with topics related to compulsory schooling in Alberta have also been functional sources for this study. Those which have been particularly helpful are the ones produced by McDonald, Goresky, Selinger, Patterson, and Dent.[22] Bargen's thesis,[23] later issued in book form, is of particular value in studying the legal aspects of compulsory attendance.

Government documents stand out as the principal resource. The Annual Reports of the Department of Education especially are valuable, although their potential for bias or self-justifying documentation requires continual scrutiny. They outline significant legislative and executive action and often the supporting rationale for each as well. The Annual Reports and the Census of Canada are both useful also as sources of statistical data relating to school attendance in Alberta. Unfortunately, information from the two sources cannot be reliably correlated,[24] but each resource serves a functional purpose when considered separately. Departmental correspondence and related documents in use prior to 1935 have not been retained by the Department. However, the author was able to obtain a small number of such items from a private source. They are useful in indicating the bureaucratic management of attendance matters in the province. Photostatic copies of the more pertinent items of correspondence have been placed in the Appendix.

Footnotes - Chapter One

[1] Woltz, C.K. "Compulsory Attendance at School" *Law and Contemporary Problems* 20 (Winter, 1955) pp.3.

[2] Ehrlich, Eugen *Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 78.

[3] Woltz, C.K. *op.cit.* pp.19.

[4] Katz, Michael B. *Class, Bureaucracy and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), pp.19.

[5] Tyack, David B. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp.66.

[6] Greer, Colin *The Great School Legend* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972), pp.3.

[7] Goodman, Paul *Compulsory Mis-Education* (New York: Horizon Press, 1964), pp. 39.

[8] *Ibid* pp.76.

[9] Illich, Ivan *De Schooling Society* (New York: Harper and Rowe, Publishers, 1970.)

[10] *Ibid* pp.32.

[11] *Ibid* pp.73

[12] Prentice, Alison L. *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.)

Prentice, Alison L. and Houston, Susan E., (eds.) *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[13] Katz, Michael B. *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovations in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachuse[illegible]* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), [illegible]p.218.

[14] Tyack, David B. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press,1975), pp.66.

[15] Sutherland, Neil *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1976).

[16] Coulter, Rebecca "Alberta's Department of Neglected Children, 1909-1929: A Case Study in Child Saving" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton 1977.

[17] Tyack, David B. "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling" *Harvard Educational Review* 46 (August, 1976), pp.356-389.

[18] Cubberley, Ellwood P. *The History of Education* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1920.)

Butts, R. Freeman *A Cultural History of Western Education* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc.,1955).

Good, H.G. *A History of Western Education* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960.).

Phillips, Charles E. *Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co. Ltd., 1957.).

[19] Carlile, Amos B. "One Hundred Years of Compulsory School Attendance Laws in Massachusetts - Historical Background" *Educational Administration and Supervision* 40, (January,1954) pp.1-18.

Perrin, J.W. "Beginnings in Compulsory Education" *Educational Review* 25 (March 1903) pp. 204-248

Jernegan, M.W. "Compulsory Education in the Southern Colonies" *School Review* 27 (June 1919) pp.405-425.

Woltz, C.K. "Compulsory Attendance at School" *Law and Contemporary Problems* 20 (Winter 1955) pp. 3-22.

Miller, James C. "Attendance" (Chapter V) *Rural Schools in Canada* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913.)

[20] Tyack, David B. "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling" *Harvard Educational Review* 46 (August 1976) pp.356-389.

[21] Philipps, Charles E. *Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co. Ltd., 1957).

Shortt, Adam and Doughty, Arthur G. (ed.) *Canada and Its Provinces* (especially Vol.19 and Vol.20 "The Prairie Provinces") Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914.

Wilson, J. Donald, Stamp, Robert M. and Audet, Louis-Philippe (eds.) *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970.)

Chalmers, John W. *Schools of the Foothills Province* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.)

[22] McDonald, Neil G. "The School as an Agent of Nationalism in the North-West Territories, 1884-1905" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1971.

Goresky, I. "The Beginning and Growth of the Alberta School System" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1944.

Selinger, A.D. "The Contributions of D.J. Goggin to the Development of Education in the North-West Territories 1893-1902" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1960.

Patterson, R.S. "F.W.G. Haultain and Education in the Early West" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1961.

Dent, I. "Evolution of School Grants in Alberta" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1956.

[23] Bargen, Peter, *The Legal Status of the Canadian Public School Pupil* (especially Chapter 3: "Compulsory Attendance Laws and the Right to an Education") Toronto: MacMillan Co. Ltd., 1961

[24] For example, in the 1931 *Annual Report of the Department of Education* claims that 130,681 children between the ages of seven and fourteen were in attendance. The *Canada Census* undertaken during the same year claims that 122,068 children between these ages were in attendance and that, when the number of children between these ages not in attendance was added to the 122,068, there were only 128,740 between these ages in the total population.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INTERNATIONAL LEGACY

Introduction

Compulsion has not always been an accepted characteristic of schooling. In fact, as Katz indicates, it was initially a radical proposition. Acceptance of compulsory schooling came only gradually, with the pace of development being determined by the interplay of a variety of positive and negative influences.

The initial impetus in support of compulsory schooling came in the sixteenth century when, for religious reasons, Protestant Reformers appealed for its inception. However, despite this early indication of interest, it was not until the nineteenth century that a significant growth of public schools occurred, and then only when spurred by political rather than religious motives.

Interest in schooling grew in the nineteenth century as nation states came to recognize its value as an important means of achieving desired social and political goals. Great importance was attached to its potential for coping with a variety of social problems and for helping to ensure the welfare of the states and its citizens through education for literacy and citizenship. In addition, special attention came to be directed toward the child as a citizen with distinct needs and rights of its own.

For centuries schooling had been largely fee-based, privately sponsored and available to a narrow segment of the population. In the nineteenth century the phenomenon of public schooling, 'free' and available to all, emerged and expanded rapidly within a supportive environment. By the end of the century, schooling had become a major activity for the vast majority of children.

The various ideas which nurtured the proliferation of public schools also acted in combination as a persuasive force to insist that schooling be made compulsory for all children. Vigorous opposition was expressed by laissez-faire theorists, vested interest elements of church and philanthropic organizations, and other concerned groups. However, in the face of the influence of a strong ideology, these efforts were largely unsuccessful. In the same ideological context the introduction and passage of compulsory schooling legislation exemplified a firm and widespread belief in the value of public schooling.

The Religious Call to Action

Up until the sixteenth century schools had been largely a responsibility of the Church, aristocratic in nature and designed mainly to train future Church leaders. The main thrust for compulsory schooling came from the desire for universal education which accompanied the

Reformation, wherein personal reading of the Bible was emphasized to the extent that "literacy almost became a prerequisite to salvation."[1]

Martin Luther believed that it was not only the right and duty of the state to establish schools but that attendance should be compelled as well. In a letter to the Elector John of Saxony he argued:

> Where there are towns and villages which have the ability your electoral grace has the power to compel them to maintain schools, pulpits, and parishes ... If the government can compel such citizens as are fit for military service to bear spear and rifle, to mount ramparts and perform other martial duties in time of war; how much more has it a right to compel the people to send their children to school, because in this case we are warring with the devil.[2]

Through the assistance of beneficient rulers in the Principalities some significant embodiment of Luther's desires was achieved. In the Grand Duchy of Weimar, for example, attendance at school was enforced on both boys and girls as early as 1619.[3]

Other Protestant Reformers also put a high value on schooling. When Calvin founded the ecclesiastical state of Geneva in 1542, he "made education universal and, so far as he was able to realize his plans, it was obligatory... What Calvin did in Geneva John Knox attempted in Scotland, but ... it was not until 1633 that an act for the establishment of schools passed Parliament. This act provided that a school be established in every parish, and that lands be assessed for that purpose."[4]

Calvinism was the main impetus behind the first compulsory schooling act in North America as well. In colonial Massachusetts in 1642 we note "the earliest legal provision which may be construed to be an expression of public interest in education."[5] School attendance was not specified in the law but a desired educational standard was set. A further law in 1647, commonly referred to as the Old Deluder Satan Act provided the means for securing an education as demanded by the act of 1642. Towns numbering fifty householders were compelled to hire a teacher and towns of one hundred householders were compelled to establish a grammer school. Compulsory attendance was not mentioned in either act.

In England, during this period, little impact upon the schools was felt through the fervour of religious reform. What the masses of children seemed to need was primary instruction but the state failed to respond. As Perrin mentions, schooling "came only by private benefice when the Reformation was far advanced."[6] In fact, as H.G. Good mentions, the Reformation was educationally destructive. With England separating from Rome in 1534 the monastic grammar schools were closed and many of the sources of charitable aid were eradicated.

However, at least one author refers to a sixteenth century contribution of England to the development of compulsory education. It was secular rather than religious and refers to English apprenticeship practices:

> The English of the sixteenth century, becoming alarmed at the growing vagabondage of the time, commenced the enactment of a series of laws that made apprenticeship education compulsory for those who might otherwise become vagrants.[8]

The English Poor and Apprenticeship Law of 1601, for example, obliged overseers of the poor in each locality to make systematic arrangements to teach useful trades to the young poor. The intention was to prevent the growth of a pauper class through aid to vocational education.[9] E.P. Cubberley notes that "in this compulsory apprenticeship with general taxation of those with property to provide workhomes and materials, we have the germ among English-speaking peoples of the idea of the general taxation of all persons by the State to provide schools for the children of the State."[10]

Unfortunately, much of the educational effort of the Reformation translated itself into the urgent need for training of leaders, especially religious leaders, through the medium of classical schools.[11] No widespread growth of vernacular elementary schools was realized. As Cubberley puts it:

> The creation of a largely new type of schools, and in sufficient numbers to meet the needs of large classes of people who before had never shared in the advantages of education, in consequence proved to be a work of centuries ... What Luther and Calvin declared at the beginning of the sixteenth century to be a necessity of

> the State and the common right of all, it took until well into the nineteenth century actually to create and make a reality.[12]

However, some significant contributions of the Reformation period, applicable to this study, can be noted. The Reformation marks an important step in beginning the transfer of educational functions from the church to the state. H.G. Good notes that "from this time on, for several centuries, we see the increasing activity of the state in education until, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and after the democratic revolutions, the state took over these functions almost completely."[13] R. Freeman Butts mentions that "in the sense that public education means civic control, the movement toward public education was begun during the Reformation."[14] Further contributions can be found in the fact that in the Reformation we find the first widely applicable reason for the education of girls[15] and the first effective rationale for universal education.

In reference to the basic elements of legislation pertaining to compulsory schooling, during the Reformation we observe the beginnings of the state's demands upon citizens for the tax-supported erection and maintenance of schools. Further, a law which compelled attendance at school was to be enforced against the parent rather than the child, therefore, the responsibility for school attendance rested as squarely on the parent's shoulders in the sixteenth century as it did later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[16]

Compulsory Schooling as a Political Ideal

Whereas the hopes for mass education given birth during the Reformation received limited fulfillment in most countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in Germany significant developments occurred which served as an inspiration for nineteenth century activity. In this setting schools, as state institutions, were utilized to promote national goals.

King Frederick William I of Prussia issued school laws in 1713 and 1717 which made it compulsory for all parents to send their children to school.[17] To help the indigent who were unable to pay tuition fees, the community at large was to be taxed. In 1737 a general school code provided state aid for schoolmasters and for the erection of schools. In 1763 Frederick the Great issued the Prussian School Code which laid the basis for a national system of elementary education. Compulsory attendance from the age of five to thirteen was ordered, and requirements were set pertaining to the school year, the hours of the school day, the curriculum and teacher training. State inspectors were empowered to inspect and supervise the schools. A national board of education was instituted in 1787 to control all elementary and secondary schools. In the Prussian Code of 1794 the principle of state control of education was enunciated, schools were declared state institutions and local school committees were established.[18]

It was the Prussian example of establishing public schools and of utilizing them to facilitate the achievement of national ends that became, in the nineteenth century, a central justification in many countries to introduce compulsory schooling.

The transition from the schools as creatures of the Church to creatures of the State proceeded more slowly in other countries of the Western World. But there also, eventually, "a new political impulse replaced the earlier religious motive as the incentive for education, and education for literacy and citizenship became, during the nineteenth century, a new political ideal that has, in time, spread to progressive nations all over the world."[19]

This political impulse went beyond education for patriotism to a concern for the development of the potential in all citizens. But whether the nation state was intended to be the end and the citizen the means, or vice versa, would prove to be a pivotal aspect of national development. In either case compulsory schooling was viewed with favour as a legislative tool to help realize the desired result.

Through compulsion in German education the government sought to "inculcate national loyalties, prepare each individual for his place in the state, and discover and train leaders."[20] Theirs was an aristocratic model with nationalism as a dominant motivating force.

The American example was in some ways a contrast. In the nineteenth century American reform efforts, some observers maintain, were directed toward the development of "an egalitarian educational apparatus intended to equip every child with the necessary minimum of information and character to enable him to take his place as an autonomous being in a free society governed by popular suffrage."[21] Leaders were supposed to have visualized education as an indispensable instrument of popular sovereignty and an intellectual defense against aristocratic tendencies.[22] Horace Mann, the able proponent of the American public school, went as far as to maintain that "the establishment of a republican government, without well-appointed and efficient means for universal education of the people, is the most rash and foolhardy experiment ever tried by man."[23] Compulsion, then, in the American setting, was to remove the constraints imposed by a lack of education upon the individual's ability to realize his potential, both for personal ends and for citizenship.

Other Persuasive Factors

Besides political considerations, another critical factor encouraging the nation states to institute compulsory schooling was industrialization. Soon after the onset of the Industrial Revolution the long-standing apprenticeship system of education became disrupted and child labour in factories became prevalent. Remedial action during the early nineteenth century, such as in the form of the Factory Acts and the charity schools in England, could do little to accomodate the profound social needs. They were little better than stop-gap arrangements. Besides this, industrialization soon produced vocal middle and working classes which put forth "a demand for education as a matter of right rather than as a matter of charity (which) took the form of an appeal to the state to employ its power to tax and to provide the enlarged educational opportunities that were needed."[24]

In the industrial world education was seen as an economic asset. It was an asset to society because of the increased productivity it represented and it was seen as a means for the attainment of personal prosperity and independence. Horace Mann related education and economic well-being to the extent that "knowledge and abundance sustain to each other the relation of cause and effect."[25]

A strong belief in the connection between education and personal character was often expressed and as such it served as a persuasive force for compulsory schooling. A clear statement of the relationship is found in the following excerpt from a report proposing the introduction of compulsory schooling into Pennsylvania in 1871:

> The plain fact is that there is a natural affinity between knowledge and good morals, between the normal culture of the intellect and of the heart, between truth and rectitude, and that a knowledge of reading and writing increases both the means and the tendency to acquire both the knowledge and the habits of virtue and good morals.26

Justification for compulsory schooling on compassionate grounds was often expressed. Frequently this sentiment was directed toward children of the poor or the underprivileged. Whereas children of a number of more fortunate citizens were availing themselves of the opportunity of schooling, these children had little or no exposure to school. Their education, important for their moral and religious instruction, was considered vital and preferable to possible exploitation through child labour. The charity and pauper schools, as mentioned, were not effective since they were relatively few in number and the poor frequently failed to attend as they were often too proud to declare themselves paupers.[27]

A clear concern that these people become educated is found in the Pennsylvania Report referred to earlier:

> The natural and proper effect of legislation ... would be, on the whole, to diminish poverty and wretchedness, as well as ignorance, vice and crime ... To prevent vice and crime by removing their causes, and thus prevent their consequences of poverty and misery and shame of injury and loss to society, is quite as

> consistent with the proper functions of the state as to punish them after they have borne their fruit.[28]

An American legislator of the time reminded his peers that "the benefit of public education is bestowed, not on the erring parents, but the innocent children. Deny them this and you punish children for the crimes or misfortunes of their parents."[29]

In North America a further rationale was present in the form of increasing numbers of immigrants from European nations. It became clear that compulsory attendance would help greatly in the task of assimilating these newcomers into the dominant culture. A contemporary warned: "Unless we educate our immigrants, they will be our ruin. It is no longer a question of benevolence, of duty, or of enlightened self-interest, but the intellectual and religious training of our foreign population has become essential to our own safety."[30] Horace Mann, in particular, saw in the schools, public supported and attended by all children, a means of developing values that all could share in common, despite differences of national origin, class or creed.[31]

Retarding Influences

One might surmise that all of these elements together would compose an irresistable justification for compulsory schooling in all western countries by the mid-nineteenth century. But such was not the case, as vigorous resistance proved to retard the movement.

The then-powerful political doctrine of laissez-faire was a central force. In England, a demand for a minimum of state interference in education and the supreme value attached to individual liberty combined to solidify a system of private and voluntary schooling. An American State Superintendent of Schools encapsulated the laissez-faire philosophy in the following argument against compulsory schooling:

> The American idea is a minimum of law ... with a maximum of freedom ... I hold that compulsory education is contrary to the dominant idea which has pervaded the development of American institutions ... The control of the child is a right of the parent and not a duty or privilege. Compulsory education is contrary to the law of the family and its tendency destructive to this institution.[32]

A portion of the 1871 Pennsylvania Report presents a striking rebuttal to this concern of infringement upon personal or family liberty:

> If the law may restrain a man from cruelly beating his horse or his mule, shall it be considered an insufferable interference with his personal liberty to forbid his dwarfing of minds, debassing of morals, stunting of bodies and enfeebling the constitutions of his children? Is the state more interested in the care of oxen than of men?[33]

The liberalism of laissez-faire was a negative doctrine, for its chief purpose was to prevent or prohibit actions which would interfere with the liberty of the individual. It was the realization of a positive form of liberalism which helped justify compulsory schooling in a purportedly free society. J.H.S. Reid elaborates:

> This liberalism seeks much more than merely to prohibit actions that are detrimental to liberty; it also aims to create conditions that will be favorable to the growth and extension of liberty. Such a philosophy demands action far more often than it prohibits it ... For the citizens of the new liberal state the chief benefit of government is that under it they themselves are enabled to make the most of themselves.[34]

To guarantee the larger freedom thereby generated, it was reasoned that the state must exercise its authority to make schools operational and to see that all children actually attend.

The growing power of the state raised the problem of redefining the relationship between church and state. As nations became increasingly more industrial, with the challenge to expand educational opportunities so acute, the task of providing schools for all a nation's children involved organization and expenditure beyond the capacities of any body but the state. For a time the state "might take the easy course of subsidizing the existing schools, but sooner or later it was bound as major paymaster to assume control on behalf of the whole community."[35]

The sheer reluctance of many of the churches to relinquish the authority and power which they exercized retarded the development of compulsory schooling legislation in many countries. It was an understandable reluctance, supported by apprehension about being relegated from a central to a peripheral position as providers of schooling to the nation's children. To the churches the transition signalled the loss of an important degree of involvement and influence in the lives of children and their families. In addition there was a concern regarding the nature of impending governmental supervision of existing denominational schools and the value system which would be brought to the task.

There was, then, at mid-nineteenth century an interplay of a variety of factors, some encouraging and some discouraging for the fortunes of compulsory schooling. The relative strengths of these factors in each country produced a staggered timetable through which legislation gained acceptance. Although the dates and events varied country by country there were overall similarities which transcended geographical and political boundaries, as seen in the following examples.

Compulsory Schooling in England

In nineteenth-century England, the heartland of th laissez-faire philosophy, compulsory schooling was introduced only after a vigorous struggle. The country's educational tradition, as has been mentioned, was one in which schooling was regarded as largely the concern of philanthropy, of voluntary and private enterprise.

Benevolence was a great virtue. Plans to educate the broad segment of the working class were thought by many persons of influence to be "useless, absurd and dangerous."[36] One writer documents an attempt at the beginning of the nineteenth century to channel this philanthropy into a concerted effort to provide a national system of elementary education on a voluntary basis.[37] The necessary cooperation, however, was prevented by religious discord and financial constraint. In 1833 the government began offering annual grants to the various Voluntary Societies, but by 1870 it became obvious that a national system of education could not be constructed by voluntary enterprise, even when subsidized by the state.[38] It was calculated in 1870 that only two-fifths of the children between the ages of six and ten were in the voluntary schools and only one-third of those between ten and twelve.[39] Attendance generally was quite irregular.

It became increasingly evident to many that England could not continue to afford the luxury of laissez-faire. Initial legislative action was taken in 1870 when, with a cry that "upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity,"[40] Gladstone's Liberal government presented the Elementary Education Act. The Parliamentary debate which followed found few Members arguing that the state should have no role in the education of its children. The central question was the extent to which the state should become involved.

The evolution of legislation between 1870 and the close of the nineteenth century reflects an increasing acceptance of the state's right not only to insist that all children be educated but to ensure that the facilities be accessible to all, in an economic as well as a geographic sense, and to prescribe basic terms of attendance and instruction. However it took until the end of the century for England to achieve schooling which was both compulsory and free. A complexity of factors relating to social class, the churches' involvement in education, political philosophy, and the effects of industrial development acted in concert as a retarding influence.

Compulsory Schooling in United States

Early in nineteenth-century United States there came to be a realization, as in England, that the goal of universal schooling could not be attained through the philanthropic provision of schools and by simple encouragement of attendance. The mix of persuasive forces for compulsory schooling at play during the century in America proved to easily overpower the objections associated with the doctrine of laissez-faire. Acting together they were a compelling array: nationalism, the desire for an enlightened citizenry, apprehension about the immigrant, the clamoring of the 'rising classes' and concern over disruptive by-products of industrialization, as personified in the child-labourer and the urban poor. Church-state relations in the new land, although a continuing concern, proved not to be an obstacle.

It was an industrialized state, Massachusetts, which brought in the first compulsory schooling legislation in the United States, largely as a result of Horace Mann's leadership as Secretary to the State Board of Education. It was Mann who had championed the cause of the common school. With the battle largely won, compulsory schooling could be carried in on the shoulders of an almost universal network of free schools. The year was 1852.

Neighboring industrial states were next to enact legislation, followed by the western states. However, it was not until 1890 that one-half of the states had passed compulsory schooling laws. The states of the South were the slowest to respond, the last being Mississippi in 1918. In this part of the country an enduring tradition of private schooling and apprehension over racial issues were prime factors affecting the speed of legislative action.

The requirements contained in initial legislation varied considerably from state to state. To H.G. Good "this unfortunate diversity ... is a natural result of the differences in the past history of the states, in their economic and industrial condition, and in the character and distribution of their people."[41] Of course, one must realize as well that differences are a logical outcome in a country whose constitution designates education to be a state prerogative.

Compulsory Schooling in Canada

Developments in Anglophone Canada in large measure paralleled those of Britain. As a British colony, Canada, outside of Quebec, mirrored the values and practices of the mother country.

Initially schools were sponsored by religious and private bodies. The laissez-faire doctrine was a functional inhibition to governmental involvement. The movement toward a public and secular school system, similarly, was slowed by the power of these vested interests. Joseph Katz notes that during the period 1845 to 1875 "a more or less uniform standard of elementary education under the control of municipal and provincial authorities came into being. By 1875 most elementary schools, in Ontario and the Maritimes at least, had been brought to a uniform standard under central authorities."[42] Robert Stamp notes that the process was virtually completed throughout Canada by 1914 and that "at the beginning of the period (the 1870's) provincial authorities were still generally weak; but after forty years of legislation and growth they were wielding tremendous power in every section of the country."[43] The same developmental pattern was holding true for Alberta and Saskatchewan in their transition during this period from territorial to provincial status.

When provincial education departments proposed compulsory schooling laws, predictable opposition arose. Complainants argued that the laws infringed upon the rights and liberties of parents and, in Roman Catholic communities, upon the rights of the Church in education.[44]

In Canada, as in England and the United States, the main legislative activity occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Ontario took the first step, in 1871, when school districts were compelled to provide free schools through local taxation and parents were obliged by threat of legal penalty to have their children attend school for at least four months a year between the ages of seven and twelve.[45] By the end of World War I all provinces except Quebec had instituted legislation, with British Columbia in 1873 being next to follow Ontario's lead and Manitoba in 1916 being the last.

In the North-West Territories legislation was first introduced in 1888, an amazingly early date for a pioneer land which in that year supported only slightly more than 100 schools and 300 pupils.[46] The legislation, rather than having an immediate utility, helped shape the characteristics of the public education system which would soon be servicing a rapidly expanding population.

Legislation varied throughout the country as to provisions and enforcement. The least effective legislation demanded only a token attendance, for example twelve weeks per year in Prince Edward Island. They also left enforcement an option of local school boards.

Religious factors were central to the Manitoba and Quebec timetables for implementation. In Manitoba the touchy "school question" was ever present, at least in the fear that legislation would compel Catholic children to attend non-Catholic schools. Quebec officials could claim that compulsory attendance legislation was unnecessary: in 1911-1912 the province had the highest average daily attendance in relation to pupils enrolled and legislation forbidding the employment of children was deemed sufficient.[48] However, in 1942 legislation was finally enacted, following a request from the Council of Public Instruction. In Newfoundland, not yet a part of the Dominion, legislation was also passed in 1942.

Conclusion

The introduction of compulsory schooling in the nineteenth century was an international phenomenon, occurring as concurrent and parallel activity in a variety of nations. An amazing degree of commonality is evident as one assesses each nation's motivation for action, the legislation itself, and the initial success which was realized.

In terms of motivation, each country reacted to a specific set of political, economic and social conditions with a firm belief in the effectiveness of public schooling to help achieve desired national ends. In this context the introduction of compulsory schooling was a natural and logical outcome of a drive for universal education. A commitment to the realization of the latter meant, implicitly, an involvement with the former and an almost certain and necessary implementation of free schooling.

The belief in the importance of schooling was profound enough to overpower vocal conservative opposition and to accept the constraints implied by compulsory legislation. To the citizens of a democratic nation this infringement upon individual liberty constituted somewhat of a paradox in an environment characterized by minimal intervention by government in the lives of people.

Common elements in legislation are striking as well. All laws indicated a minimum and maximum age between which attendance was required, imposed a legal obligation upon parents and guardians to have their children attend regularly, provided penalties for noncompliance and procedures for enforcement, and listed certain conditions relative to exceptions. Implicitly or explicitly stated was the provision of tax-supported schools.

Similarly, the limited degree of initial success achieved in each country was a common experience. In short, there was little success. In England's case the result was predictable because of legislation which set no national requirements. Instead the legislation empowered local school boards to enact, at their discretion, by-laws requiring children to attend school. At the time there were approximately 3,000,000 children of school age but only about 2,000,000 could have been accomodated in available schools.[49] Few boards took action, realizing that it would have been absurd to compel parents to send their children to non-existent or already overcrowded schools.

In the United States a survey of state officials in 1889 reported inadequate enforcement of compulsory school laws either because of lack of interest on the part of officials, because school facilities were not adequate to accomodate all the children of school age, or because the law lacked the precision in wording or the provision of personnel and penalties necessary for enforcement.[50]

It should not have been shocking to observe that effective enforcement failed to follow the enactment of legislation. A concern about the success of enforcement at this initial state was, in a sense, a misplaced concern which may have deflected attention away from the main dynamic behind legislative action.

Primarily the enactment of compulsory schooling legislation in the nineteenth century was a statement of faith about the value of schooling. Those professing the faith in each nation were the majority of the population or, at least, they were the powerful and the influential who would soon win over a majority. Generally, they were involved in the public schools, either totally or to the extent that constraints permitted.

To continue with the religious analogy it could be said that compulsory schooling legislation served two purposes simultaneously: First, it acted as reassurance legislation to the host of believers. Secondly, it served as a document for missionary work with the non-believers who did not attach importance to schooling.

Footnotes - Chapter Two

[1] Brubacher, John S. A History of the Problems of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1947), pp.557.

[2] Painter, F.V. Luther on Education (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1889); pp.136-138 quoted in Brubacher, J.S. A History of the Problems of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1947), pp.558.

[3] Boyd, William The History of Western Education (London: Adam and Charles Block Ltd., 1952), pp.307.

[4] Perrin, J.W. "Beginnings in Compulsory Education" Educational Review 25 (March 1903) pp.241.

[5] Carlile, Amos B. "One Hundred Years of Compulsory School Attendance Laws in Massachusetts - Historical Background" Educational Administration and Supervision 40 (January 1954) pp.2.

[6] Perrin, J.W. op.cit. pp.243

[7] Good H.G. A History of Western Education (2nd Ed.) (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1960), pp.160.

[8] Brubacher, J.S. op. cit. pp. 557.

[9] Good, H.G., op. cit. pp. 161.

[10] Cubberley, Ellwood P. The History of Education (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1920). pp. 326.

[11] Knight, Edgar W. Twenty Centuries of Education (New York: Ginn and Company, 1940), pp. 179.

[12] Cubberley, Ellwood P. op.cit. pp. 352

[13] Good, H.G. op.cit. pp. 158

[14] Butts, R. Freeman A Cultural History of Western Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. Inc., 1955), pp.207.

[15] Good, H.G. op.cit. pp.156.

[16] Brubacher, J.S. op.cit. pp.556

[17] Butts, R. Freeman op.cit. pp. 274.

[18] Good, H.G. op.cit. pp. 319.

[19] Cubberley, Ellwood P. op.cit. pp. 713.

[20] Frost, S.E. Jr. and Bailey, K.P. Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education (2nd Ed.) (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1973), pp. 516.

[21] Welter, Rush American Writings on Popular Education: The Nineteenth Century (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1971), pp. xiv.

[22] Ibid pp.lvii.

[23] Mann, Horace quoted in Thayer, V.T. Formative Ideas in American Education (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1965), pp. 96.

[24] Brubacher, J.S. op.cit pp. 87.

[25] Mann, Horace quoted in Thayer, V.T. op.cit. pp. 98.

[26] Pennsylvania, Government of: "Compulsory Education" Report of the Board of Public Charities of the State of Pennsylvania (1871) pp. 5-30 printed in Katz, Michael B. (ed.) School Reform: Past and Present (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), pp. 71.

[27] Brubacher, J.S. op.cit. pp. 555.

[28] Pennsylvania, Government of: op.cit. in Katz, Michael B. op.cit. pp.70.

[29] Stevens, Thadeus quoted in Brubacher, J.S. op.cit. pp. 556.

[30] Stowe, Calvin: Speech in the year 1836 quoted in Cohen, Sol (Ed.) Education in the United States - A Documentary History(New York: Random House, Inc., 1974) pp. 993.

[31] Mann, Horace quoted in Thayer, V.T. op.cit. pp. 96.

[32] Cooper, Oscar (State Superintendent of Schools, Texas) from a speech given in 1890, quoted in Katz, Michael B. (ed.) School Reform: Past and Present (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971), pp. 73.

[33] Pennsylvania, Government of: *op.cit.* quoted in Katz, Michael B. *ibid* pp. 65

[34] Reid, J.H.S. "Compulsory Education in a Free Society" *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education - Volume 2* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1959), pp.56.

[35] Boyd, William *The History of Western Education* (London: Adam and Charles Black Ltd., 1952), pp. 409.

[36] Tyerman, Maurice J. *Truancy* (London: University of London Press, 1968), pp. 13.

[37] Smith, W.D. Lester *Compulsory Education in England* (Paris: U.N.E.S.C.O., 1951), pp. 11.

[38] Smith, W.O. Lester *ibid* pp. 11.

[39] *Ibid* pp. 12.

[40] Forster, W.E. (Minister of Education) quoted in Tibble, J.W. (ed.) *The Extra Year: The Raising of the School Leaving Age* (London: London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1970), pp. 13.

[41] Good, H.G. *A History of Western Education (2nd Ed.)* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1960), pp. 451.

[42] Katz, Joseph *Society, Schools and Progress in Canada* (Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1969), pp. 64.

[43] Stamp, Robert M. "Evolving Patterns of Education: English Canada From the 1870's to 1914" in Wilson, J. Donald; Stamp, Robert M. and Audet, Louis-Philippe (eds.) *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970), pp. 325.

[44] *Ibid* pp. 327.

[45] Philipps, Charles E. *Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co. Ltd., 1957), pp.187.

[46] Short, Adam and Doughty, Arthur G. (ed.) *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Company, 1914) in Volume 19 "The Prairie Provinces" pp.155.

[47] Lupul, Manoly "Educational Crises in the New Dominion to 1917" in Wilson, J. Donald; Stamp, Robert M. and Audet, L.P. (eds.) *op.cit.* pp. 278.

[48] Philipps, Charles E. *op. cit.* pp. 189.

[49] Smith, W.O. Lester Compulsory Education in England (Paris: U.N.E.S.C.O., 1951), pp. 18.

[50] Steinhilber, August W. and Sokolowsky, Carl J. State Law on Compulsory Attendence (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 3.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM : THE SYMBOLIC STAGE (1888-1909)

Introduction

The logical starting point for a study of compulsory schooling in Alberta is a description and assessment of the formative stage of schooling in the Territorial period. In the process of laying this groundwork an attempt is made to ascertain the extent to which the educational activities of residents, legislators and government personnel constituted what might be called a symbolic stage of development. David Tyack used the phrase "the symbolic stage" to describe the initial legislative activity related to compulsory attendance in the United States. In that time period, he contends the laws "were generally unenforced or unenforceable ... Few persons paid serious attention to the organizational apparatus necessary to compel students into classrooms."[1]

The author of this study seeks to view the applicability of the phrase in relation to the legislative and enforcement activities of government regarding compulsory attendance. Two further areas of activity which affected the schooling process during the Territorial period will be studied as well: (1) action by government in relation to the provision of grants designed to encourage attendance and the steady operation of schools; and (2) action by ratepayers in relation to the erection and subsequent utilization of schools.

In common usage, something is said to be symbolic when it serves as an expression of something else, the latter often being an ideal or highly-regarded principle. It is in this sense that the actions of rate-payers and government will be assessed as possible symbols, representing a belief in the importance of schooling during the Territorial period. Furthermore, because of the developmental nature of the subject matter, the author maintains that two conditions must be present to further verify the appropriateness of the phrase "the symbolic stage" in describing this formative period: (1) the existence of no more than a few, relatively unsophisticated symbols; and (2) a continuing disparity between the real and the ideal levels of functioning in the schools during the period.

In the Territorial period the educational actions of both citizens and government took place within the context of increasing state control over matters related to schooling. The years 1888 and 1909 have significance in this progression, the former signifying the date upon which the government enacted its first compulsory schooling legislation, and the latter being the last year before the legislation received major alterations. An appreciation of the development of state control, as a distinct process and also as part of the broader movement toward provincehood, is considered an important part of the present study, and it is to this topic that the author first directs his attention.

The Movement Toward State Schools

The earliest schools in the North-West Territories were operated by missionaries working primarily with native children. It was a haphazard education which achieved limited success and had as one of its basic goals the conversion of the Indian to Christianity.[2]

The North-West Territories Acts of 1871 and 1875, particularly the latter, marked the establishment of the framework of a state system of education, but one within which the churches retained significant authority. Legislation had determined that schools would be dual-confessional in nature. In section II of the 1875 Act, Parliament ensured not only that the majority of rate-payers in a district could establish a school and collect taxes for its operation, but that a minority, whether Protestant or Catholic, could establish a separate school and also arrange for its financial support through taxation. Isidore Goresky claims it was the distinct purpose of Parliament to "establish separate schools with powers similar to those of Ontario and Quebec, with the probable preference for the Quebec system where state control was almost limited to the provision of revenue, leaving most of the power in the hands of the Church."[3]

Until 1884, the limited number of schools in existence were in essence private schools receiving some meager grants-in-aid from the government. There was little state involvement in the control of education, due in large measure to factors such as the lack of interest on the part of Territorial Council members, serious obstacles of distance and lack of facilities for communication.[4] The financial position of the schools which did become established was often precarious because of the absence of a school tax which could be levied against all taxpayers.[5] Late in this period, however, we note the beginning of a realization by the government of the need to provide greater financial support for schools. It came in 1881 with the commitment to pay one-half the cost of a teacher's salary in a district where the minimum average number of students attending was fifteen.

The year 1884 marked the formal beginning of state control of education in the North-West Territories with the passage of An Ordinance Providing for the Organization of Schools in the North-West Territories.[6] The legislation provided the schools with support through direct taxation. Following the lead of the 1875 Ordinance, it proposed dual-confessional schools wherein state support would be granted but control and supervision would reside with denominational representatives appointed to a joint Board of Education. Neil McDonald notes that the Ordinance "was followed almost immediately by a concerted effort on the part of the state to retrieve the wide powers the 1884 Ordinance had given the churches."[7] Specifically, a new Ordinance in 1885 gave back to a re-constituted Board of Education the authority to appoint inspectors, grade and licence teachers, and conduct school examinations.[8] Robert Patterson notes that this development "marks the first step in a general secularization movement that characterized early Territorial education."[9]

This secularization process proceeded slowly but surely and in parallel motion with the move toward responsible government. In large measure both goals were achieved by the turn of the century.

The School Ordinance of 1892 brought about a radical change in the administration of the educational system in the North-West Territories. A Council of Public Instruction supplanted the Board of Education. It consisted of members of the Executive Committee of the Legislature together with four appointed citizens, two Protestant and two Catholic, who functioned as advisors with non-voting status. Not only was policy-making shifted from denominational to secular hands but the overall administration of the schools was made secular also, with provision for the appointment of a Superintendent of Education. Catholic or Protestant minorities were still able to erect separate schools and maintain them with members' taxes. The loss of denominational privilege, precipitated by the change in 1892, became a contentious issue and remained so until the time of provincehood.

The intent of the majority of the Members of the Legislative Assembly was clear, they wanted a centralized and unified system of education under a common administration. By instituting governmental control in this vital area of public service they were furthering the development toward responsible government and provincehood for the Territories. The goal of responsible government effectively was attained in 1897 when electors won the right to elect an assembly of members. The executive of the Legislative Assembly became responsible to the public through the elected representatives.

The School Ordinance of 1901 turned control of all matters pertaining to schools and school districts over to a newly-constituted Department of Education, a distinct and separate branch of the public service. This legislation can be viewed as the final step taken in the Territories toward a national school system. It marked "the formal end of a period of transition in school control from a board constituted along denominational lines to a governmental department responsible to the Assembly."[10] Religious influence was still maintained in the structure but in an advisory capacity only, through a five-member Educational Council. The control of teaching, inspection and textbooks was centralized under the Department of Education to

2

the extent that "the privileges of separate schools were very inconsiderable."[11]

When Alberta gained provincial status in 1905 it inherited a functional, state-controlled school system which was based primarily upon the legislation of 1901. The essential ingredients of the framework are still in existence.

The National School Ideology

The particular manner and speed of development of a common or national school system in the North-West Territories largely is attributable to two gentlemen: F.W.G. Haultain, the territorial political leader and policy-maker and D.J. Goggin, the first Superintendent of Education. Both were aware that the North-West Territories was a land whose institutions were in a formative stage and that the education system could play a strong role in their development. For both men national schools were a vital agency for developing and preserving a national identity. In their thinking, Canadian unity demanded cultural uniformity, but a cultural uniformity defined by them to be a Canadianization occurring within the value system of the Anglo-Saxon majority and sustained by a respect for the British Empire.

The logical extension of a belief in national schools was inescapable; these schools should be free, universal, secular and compulsory. Their crucial function in society demanded efforts towards these ends. The development of compulsory schooling legislation sprang from these philosophical roots and rested heavily upon them for rationalization and justification. It was obvious that the compulsion to erect schools, to keep them in steady operation or to have children in regular attendance constituted an infringement upon individual and corporate freedom. However, the importance of the social process which the legislative directives represented often was considered a sufficient reason for upholding the requirements.

The Influx of Settlers

Two events of 1885 helped hasten the settling of the North-West: the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the quelling of the Second North-West Rebellion. One writer described it this way: "If the coming of the Canadian Pacific Railway was the inauguration of the new order for the white settlers, the insurrection of 1885 was the final passing of the old order for the original inhabitants of the plains."[12] The place of hunter and trader was beginning to give way at an increasing rate to that of farmer and rancher.

During the decade prior to 1885 immigration had proceeded slowly, with an annual increase of two per cent (or one thousand persons) being realized. For the period 1888-1897 the annual rate increased to ten per cent annually,[14] a progression which occurred despite a rather indifferent immigration policy.

During the years 1897-1910 the population of the North-West Territories grew at a phenomenal rate. The upsurge was due, in large measure, to the efforts of Hon. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior from 1896 to 1905, who spearheaded an energetic immigration policy. Propaganda extolling the benefits of the new land was vigorously passed on by specially-created agencies working in the United States, Great Britain and Europe. The effect was immediate, leading to what was referred to as "the American invasion" as well as to a greatly increased number of overseas immigrants. In the latter regard Canada received forty-eight per cent of total immigration to North America in 1903 compared to only eighteen per cent in 1899.[15] Homestead applications in the North-West Territories for the period 1901-1905 were 22,223 annually compared to 3,418 annually for each of the preceding twenty-six years.[16]

The Dominion census of 1891 gave the Territories a population of 66,799. By 1901 the count was 164,301 and by 1911 it was 702,794. In the decade 1901-1911 Alberta and Saskatchewan each realized over a 400 per cent increase in population. The population of urban areas mushroomed in the same manner. Edmonton's population, for example, grew from 700 in 1891 to 2,626 in 1901 to 24,900 in 1911.[17]

The astounding number of immigrants put great pressure upon the institutions of the Territories. Fortunately the biggest waves entered at a time when responsible government was operational and when a framework of legislation and administrative procedures had been instituted.

The Desire for Schools

The growth in numbers of schools and pupils proceeded rapidly during the Territorial period, as indicated in Table I.[18]

TABLE I

GROWTH IN FACTORS RELATED TO SCHOOLING
IN NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES (1888-1904)

Year	Schools in Operation	Pupils Enrolled	Teachers Employed	Total Grants Paid to Schools $
1886	76	2,553	84	8,908.72
1887	111	3,144	125	36,897.47
1888	131	3,453	150	44,547.06
1889	164	4,574	183	56,984.63
1890	195	5,389	224	85,002.55
1891	213	5,652	248	129,042.01
1892	249	6,170	295	121,056.94
1893	262	8,214	307	106,576.59
1894	300	10,721	353	113,999.85
1895	341	11,972	401	112,182.90
1896	366	12,796	433	126,218.21
1897	394	14,576	457	121,457.18
1898	426	16,754	483	133,642.79
1889	454	18,801	545	142,455.89
1900	492	20,343	592	168,322.03
1901	564	23,837	682	162,215.07
1902	640	27,441	783	155,558.41
1903	743	33,191	916	213,764.72
1904	917	41,033	1,129	239,380.01

For most of the pioneering years the erection of school districts was an optional matter. In this voluntary setting, the pattern of growth in the number of schools can be interpreted as representing an obvious desire, expressed by new residents, for schools. The presence of an increasing number of schools was also a concrete expression of a faith in and a commitment to education.

Uhlman indicates that the first local administration units of any type in the Territories were for school purposes.[19] The four school districts established in 1884 pre-dated any municipal organization. In his 1903 Annual Report the Deputy Commissioner of Education commented on the need for additional Department staff so as to cope with the number of applications for school districts. He went on to say that "it augurs well for the future of our country that those who are seeking homes in our midst should shortly after their arrival take such an active interest in the establishment of schools."[20]

However, the erection of schools was not a guarantee of their efficient operation, particularly in the rural areas of the Territories. The disparity between the initial desire and the results achieved served to accentuate the symbolic nature of the erection of schools. In 1900, for example, out of 505 rural school districts in operation 219 were open less than 150 days and the average length of the school year for all rural schools was only 157.75 days.[21] The attendance of pupils enrolled in rural schools was also unsatisfactory. In 1902, for example, the average attendance was 50 per cent of the total enrolment.[22]

The enthusiasm for schools had to contend with harsh realities posed by the prairie environment and pioneer conditions. What later came to be referred to as the "problem of the rural school" was evident at the earliest point in organization. One element loomed large. Uhlman refers to it as the "sparsity factor",[23] a problem of few pupils widely distributed within a district which was typically six miles in dimensions. Not only did pupils' travelling distance to school cause difficulty but the small number of pupils led to financial troubles. The costs of instruction calculated on a per pupil basis were high.

There were a multitude of additional problems, such as teacher recruitment and retention; the restricted access to schools and the irregular attendance of pupils because of poor roads, adverse weather conditions or labour needs on the farm; and the difficulty in collecting taxes. All of these factors determined the extent to which a widespread belief in the value of schooling could be translated into the efficient operation of schools.

The following quotation from a School Inspector's report in 1910 places the problem of rural schooling within a realistic perspective:

> The rural school presents serious problems ... Most of them are incidental to pioneer life and will pass away as wealth and population increase. There is a general appreciation among the settlers of the value of education and in most districts there is a determination, in spite of difficulties, to maintain a school at least a portion of the year.[24]

Legislation to make compulsory the erection of school districts was enacted in 1901. Admittedly, it was proposed not to deal with a willing majority but an unwilling minority. The 1900 Annual Report presents the government's rationalé of the need for change:

> From time to time instances have been reported to the department where the majority of the settlers in a community have succeeded in persistently preventing the formation of a district even when all the conditions required by the school law were present. The outcome is a serious hardship to those who have children to educate, and to a limited extent may be a menace to the future welfare of the Territories ... If the educational needs of the Territories are to be fully met it is important that the right to establish schools wherever they are required should be delegated to the Lieutenant Governor in Council.[25]

The rationalé carried the day. Section 39 of the 1901 Ordinance gave the Commissioner, as chief civil servant, the power to erect a school district, provided it contained twenty children in the five to sixteen age bracket, ten residents who would be subject to assessment and 6,000 acres of assessable land. He could also appoint someone to call a meeting for the election of officers.

An underlying concern which encouraged passage of the legislation was that of the growth of "foreign-speaking colonies" within the Territories. If these people were left to themselves, it was reasoned, they "would naturally be slow in adopting our institutions and as a consequence the process of their assimilation would be greatly retarded."[27] In 1905 a Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners was appointed to ensure the establishment of schools among the non-English, primarily in the Ruthenian settlements north-east of Edmonton. This dramatic response to the government's concern is studied in some detail in the next chapter.

In a very real sense the legislative action concerning the compulsory erection of school districts can be considered symbolic of the importance attached by government to schooling. It served also as a firm reminder of the locus of authority in education. Whether the intent of legislation became translated into effective enforcement after enactment in 1901 has been difficult for the author to ascertain. However, by 1905, with the appointment of the Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners, there appears to be a definitive effort by government to enforce the requirements, in relation to non-English settlers at least.

School Grants

Grants from government to local school districts during the Territorial period symbolized the donor's commitment to schooling generally and to such specific matters as the importance of attendance of pupils and the continual operation of schools specifically. Early in the period these specific areas were given little attention in the grant structure but later they were highlighted as critical variables in the funding formula. At the close of the period the relative ineffectiveness of incentive grants to achieve the desired improvements was recognized and the system was terminated soon thereafter.

According to the 1884 Ordinance, once permission was granted to establish a particular school district, the local board could set a tax and also begin to receive direct financial support from the territorial government in the form of grants. These were conditional grants, to be obtained after the fact when certain conditions had been met, as opposed to unconditional grants, wherein no requirement was specified. As such they characterized the essential relationship between the government and the local boards in the early period. It was a paternalistic relationship wherein a significant dependence was created, not only in a fiscal sense but administratively as well. The target area for the grants reflected territorial priorities, which hopefully would become local priorities through the working out process. It was, in short, leadership by incentive.

In the first grant structures, established during the 1880's, the qualifications of the teacher was the prime factor in determining the amount of aid given. Ivor Dent notes that between 1880 and 1891 $98,000 was extended to schools meeting the qualifications criteria, whereas all other types of grants amounted to only $11,000.[28] In the latter category were grants established to encourage better attendance of pupils and the longer operation of schools.

According to the 1885 Ordinance, schools maintaining an average attendance of at least eight pupils were to receive an annual grant of $2.00 for every student in attendance for one hundred school days. This amount was increased to $2.50 for the child attending a minimum of 160 school days.[29] An amendment in 1886 provided $2.00 per pupil for those attending ninety rather than one hundred days and $1.50 for those attending only fifty days. A further amendment in 1887 allowed the provision of these monies if the average attendance was only six pupils rather than eight, as previously required.

These downward adjustments were attempts to relate the grants more realistically to the factors involved in frontier schooling. In effect, it meant the existence of a support system rather than an incentive system of grants, at least in relation to school attendance and the operation of schools.

A revision in 1888 indicated an increased degree of attention to the problem of attendance and a more authentic incentive program was instituted. Additional special grants were provided, ranging from $60.00 per year in schools where attendance reached seventy-five per cent of enrolment down to $35.00 where fifty per cent was attained.[30] This increased concern about attendance led to the first compulsory schooling legislation, in the same year. The two legislative actions suggest an admission by government that the existence of schools was not synonymous with their effective utilization.

With the Council of Public Instruction assuming control in 1892 of the allocation of funds received from the Dominion treasury the same pattern of grants continued. In 1896 an altered system was instituted but one which continued to accentuate the average daily attendance and the number of days school was open as variables which could significantly increase the total grant. The structure remained until 1901.

In his Annual Report of 1898 the Superintendent of Education, D.J. Goggin, recommended incorporating further incentives.

> Far too many pupils fail to take proper advantage of the schools provided for them. Rather less than 36 per cent of our pupils have been under instruction for over 100 days in the Year. It is

> worth considering whether ... the variable grant on attendance (should be) increased to such an extent as to induce trustees, rate-payers and teachers, from the monetary if no higher reason, to make much greater efforts than many of them now do to secure an improved attendance.[31]

Goggin's recommendation became incorporated into the 1901 Ordinance which radically revised the grant structure.

In the new program grants became geared to two distinct categories of schools: (1) rural, and (2) town or village. The focus was put on the rural school, with attendance and the number of operational days being particularly emphasized. To start with, a grant of $1.20 per operational day was available to each rural school but only ninety cents for the town or village school. The old standard requirement of a minimum attendance of six pupils was still mandatory, in both categories, for the receipt of any grants.

The incentive approach was clearly at play in grants for attendance and for operational days. A rural school maintaining a forty to fifty per cent average attendance could obtain an additional five cents per day. This increased by five cents for every ten per cent increase in attendance to the point where an eighty-one to one hundred per cent record yielded twenty-five cents per day.[32] Town and village schools started at a higher base-line of five cents per day for a fifty to sixty per cent record and had to reach the ninety-one to one hundred per cent level to obtain twenty-five cents per day.[33]

In reference to operational days a rural district whose school was kept open more than 160 days in the year was entitled to forty cents per day for each additional day up to a maximum of 210 days.[34] Town and village schools had no grant at all based upon this principle but simply the ninety cents per day as earlier mentioned. Deputy-Commissioner Calder justified the incentive for the rural schools in the following manner:

> As the general efficiency of our educational system depends very largely upon the number of days our schools are in operation it was thought advisable to embody in the School Grants Ordinance come provision that would tend to encourage trustees to engage teachers for longer periods ....Whether this provision will have the desired effect or not cannot at present be stated, but there was a necessity for holding out some inducement.[35]

The 1901 Ordinance also provided the first conveyance grants applicable to districts which agreed to operate a common school. It was an attempt to improve student access to schools but one which achieved minimal success.

The grant structure remained essentially unchanged between 1901 and 1913. Whereas at the time of provincehood in 1905 revisions could have been made, the provisions of the 1901 Ordinance remained essentially in force. The frequent changes in the early developmental years had given way to a fairly comfortable structural arrangement.

It is debatable whether government officials believed that their incentive system could spur radical improvements in attendance. An appreciation of the essential connection between the level of attendance and the constraints of pioneer life, by some officials at least, seemed to lead to a tolerance of otherwise disturbing statistics. Deputy-Commissioner Calder in his 1902 Report, expressed it well:

> Out of every 100 pupils registered in our schools 50 attend regularly .... When it is considered that the great majority of children in rural communities have long distances to travel to school, that many are required at home to help on the farms ... the attendance secured during the past year may be viewed as satisfactory.36

Increasingly it became apparent that the incentive technique was not producing the desired results. Reports from school inspectors at the time are an indication of this fact:

> The attendance of scholars in country districts is extremely irregular. (G.J. Bryan, Southern Alberta Inspectorate, 1903)37
>
> The schools in some of the districts are almost depopulated in June and October on account of the labour difficulties in connection with the sugar beet industry. (J.W. Brown, Medicine Hat Inspectorate, 1906)38
>
> During 1907 not half of my districts kept or tried to keep a yearly school. (P. Thibaudeau, Lacombe Inspectorate 1907)39
>
> Some greater incentive to regularity of attendance is highly necessary. Many parents are ignoring their duty to their children by keeping them from school for insufficient cause. (E.L. Hill, Strathcona Inspectorate 1909)40

At the same time the Department of Education did not consider the level of attendance in towns and villages to be a problem. Whether school officials in these municipalities shared the same opinion is a debatable question requiring more analysis than what can be offered here. For example, in 1906 the Superintendent of the Edmonton Public School System stated that "the monthly average runs in the neighborhood of 85 per cent which appears to be a fairly satisfactory average".[41] Yet in 1908 the same school system hired its first truant officer, at a time when it was still optional to do so.[42]

Not only did incentive grants related to attendance appear relatively unnecessary in the towns and villages but, as years went by, the overall impact of the grants was lessened. As municipal budgeting for educational purposes became more extensive there was not as much reliance upon goverment grants as a source of revenue. In the Edmonton Public system, for example, as indicated in Table II,[43] government grants in 1905 made up only 18.61 per cent of the total revenue for school purposes and by 1909 had decreased even further to 13.22 per cent. The main reason for the decline in percentage was not a reduction in the grant allotment but an expansion in the school budget, with the grant representing a smaller percentage of a new total.

TABLE II:

FUNDING FOR SCHOOL OPERATION

IN THE EDMONTON PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM (1905-1909)

Year	Municipal Levy	Government Grants				Total	Perc'ge from Gov.
		Attendance	Inspection	High School	Educational Tax		
1905	$20,000.00	$ 3,941.49	$228.57	$404.00	....	$24,574.06	18.61
1906	35,000.00	6,334.40	445.21	450.00	....	42,229.06	17.11
1907	50,000.00	7,781.70	553.82	450.00	....	58,785.52	17.74
1908	72,000.00	9,739.55	679.31	450.00	1584.00	84,452.86	17.74
1909	76,000.00	10,039.65	815.00	525.00	....	87,579.65	13.22

By 1913 grants related to school attendance and the operation of schools were discontinued in favour of new legislation designed to enforce the requirements in each case. The change in approach was an admission of the inadequacy of the incentive system to produce the desired results. The means designed to make the system more than a framework did not succeed, thus reinforcing the symbolic nature of the activity.

Compulsory Schooling Legislation

David Tyack's description of the initial legislative activity related to compulsory attendance in the United States as being largely symbolic in nature appears to be applicable to the North-West Territories as well.

In the North-West Territories, legislation was first presented in 1888. As already discussed, grants relating to attendance received an increased focus that year and the timing of the legislation can be viewed as a further emphasis upon this area of concern. The legislation was introduced as a new section of the School Ordinance under the sub-heading "Compulsory Education". The particular clauses were as follows:[44]

> COMPULSORY EDUCATION
>
> 181. In every School District where there are at lease fifteen children of School age, resident within a radius of one mile and a half from the School House, it shall be compulsory for the Trustees of such District to keep the School open the whole year.

182. In every School District where there are at least ten children of School age, it shall be compulsory for the Trustees of such District to have their School in operation at least six months in every year.

183. Every parent, guardian or other person, resident in a School District, having control of any child or children, between the ages of seven and twelve years, shall be required to send such child or children to School for a period of at least twelve weeks in each year, at least six weeks of which time shall be consecutive; and any parent, guardian or other person who does not provide that every such child under his or her care shall attend School, or be otherwise educated, shall be subject to the penalties hereinafter provided by this Ordinance.

184. It shall be the duty of the Trustees of every School District, or any person authorised by them, after being notified that any parent, guardian, or other person, having control of any child or children, neglects or violates the provisions of the next preceding Section, to make complaint of such neglect or violation to a Justice of the Peace, and it shall be competent for any such Justice of the Peace to investigate or decide in a summary manner upon any such complaint, and to impose a fine not exceeding one dollar for the first offence, and double that penalty for each subsequent offence.

185. It shall be the duty of the Justice of the Peace to ascertain, as far as may be, the circumstances of and party complained of for not sending his or her child or children to School, or otherwise educating him or them; and he shall accept any of the following as a reasonable excuse:

(1) That the child is under instruction in some other satisfactory manner;

(2) That the child has been prevented from attending School by sickness, or any unavoidable cause;

(3) That there is no School open, which the child can attend, within such distance, not exceeding two and one half miles, measured according to the nearest passable road from the residence of such child;

> (4) That such child has reached a standard of education of the same or of a greater degree than that to be attained in the School of the School District within which such child resides;
> (5) That such parent or guardian was not able, by reason of poverty, to clothe such child properly, or that such child's bodily or mental condition has been such as to prevent his or her attendance at School or application to study for the period required.

The timing of the first legislation coincided with similar enactments in other parts of Canada and North America. The phrasing of sections 183, 184 and 185 are almost identical to that passed in British Columbia in 1885,[45] which may indicate a cross-fertilization of ideas. Some modification of provisions is obvious so that the new legislation could realistically come to terms with pioneer conditions. The end result was essentially a token treatment of the attendance problem. For example a child between the ages of seven and twelve in the North-West Territories was required to attend at least twelve weeks a year; in British Columbia it was six months. The initial fine in the Territories was set at one dollar; in British Columbia it was five dollars. In the Territories a child could be exempted from attendance if conditions of poverty prevented him/her from being adequately clothed; there was no such exemption in British Columbia.

The introduction of legislation at this time and stage of development can be considered a progressive act, not only reflecting a concern for education in the new land but a desire to establish a firm framework for a state school system. At the time there were only 131 schools in operation in the whole Territory but many more were soon to be erected.

Debate in the Assembly concerning the proposed legislation was vigorous, as reported by The Regina Leader:

> A most important decision was arrived at yesterday in the Assembly when the Committee of the Whole on the School Ordinance divided on the question of compulsory education, ten members voting for and eight against the principle. Speeches worthy of the Dominion House were made on this question by Messrs. Oliver, Secord, Haultain, Richardson and Justice Rouleau. This change, if it is confirmed in today's discussion and retained, will have important bearings on education in the Territories.[46]

The clauses made demands upon trustees and parents alike, with an agent of the State administering penalties for the non-compliance of either. The eventual passage of the clauses stands as a landmark along the road to full state control of education in the Territories.

It is significant to note however that the establishment of school districts was not made compulsory at the same time. The Regina Leader noted:

> The clause providing for compulsion in the establishment of school districts was not adopted. The clauses introducing compulsory education into the Territories were passed.[47]

Therefore, the requirement that children attend school could be directed only to those who lived where a school was available. Most of these people likely had a part in the voluntary erection of the school concerned.

Their action already indicated a commitment to schooling, an attitude which would probably be reflected in the voluntary attendance of their children. Not until 1901, when the State legislated for the compulsory erection of school districts could it expect more of the school-age children in the Territories to attend.

With the 1888 legislation passed, it soon became apparent that enactment and enforcement were distinct and separate considerations. The former could not guarantee the latter. In actual fact, no machinery for monitoring and enforcing attendance was established. Reporting requirements imposed by the government upon school district personnel were cumbersome and inefficient procedures. There were few school inspectors and each was responsible to cover a wide territory under difficult travelling conditions. The requirement that a trustee institute court action against a neighbour because of non-attendance of the neighbour's child seldom received a cooperative response at the local level. The operation of all these factors led to a virtual lack of enforcement of attendance legislation.

Behind all of the activity demanded by the legislation lay the powerful constraints of pioneer living faced by most and appreciated by all. For example, a justice of the peace was required to accept as reasonable excuses for non-attendance sickness or any other unavoidable cause, inadequate clothing, or the unavailability of a school within two-and-one-half miles measured according to the nearest passable road. These and other grounds for exemption, even though realistic for frontier conditions, proved to be too generous for effective enforcement of compulsory attendance.

The net effect of all of these considerations was legislation noteworthy more for exhorting than for enforcing a minimum standard.

In 1892 additional clauses were added under the sub-heading "Truancy".[48]

> 191. The Trustees of each School may appoint a truant officer who shall, for the purposes of this Ordinance, be vested with police powers, and Trustees shall have authority to make Regulations for the direction of such officer in the enforcement of the provisions of this Ordinance, as they may deem expedient, provided such Regulations are not inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Ordinance, and have been approved by the Superintendent of Education.
>
> 192. If the parent, guardian, or other person having the legal charge of any child, shall neglect or refuse to cause such child to attend, within five days, some School, after being notified as herein required (unless excused from such attendance as provided in this Ordinance) the Truant officer shall make or cause to be made a complaint against such person before any Justice of the Peace, having jurisdiction in the School District in which the offence occurred, and it shall be competent for such Justice of the Peace to investigate or decide, in a summary manner, upon any such complaint, and to impose a fine, not exceeding one dollar and costs for the first offence, and double that penalty for each subsequent offence.

> 193. Provided that in other than Town School Districts the provisions of the foregoing clauses relating to truancy shall not apply to children who may reside more than one mile from the School House.

A number of significant aspects can be noted in this expansion of legislation. For the first time provision was made for a particular salaried official to assume responsibility at the local level for attendance matters. The government, short of giving a grant for this function, was offering to school districts the option of systematizing the regulating of attendance in the person of a truant officer.

As an index of the importance attached to attendance this individual was to be vested with police powers. It was a dramatic way to personify state control in education.

The five-day warning to parents of offenders built in a 'second chance' provision and as such improved upon the 1888 legislation. To have the truant officer lay a complaint avoided the inter-personal problems facing the trustee who otherwise would have the duty. The clause reading in part that "in other than town school districts the provisions of the foregoing clauses relating to truancy shall not apply to children who may reside more than one mile from the school house" in effect nullified any impact which the truancy procedures might have in rural Alberta. But it was precisely here, in rural Alberta, where the attendance problem was most acute.

Even in the towns and villages the truancy clauses were somewhat premature at this stage, since few communities were of sufficient size to warrant this administrative change. For example, Calgary did not appoint its first truant officer until 1905.[49]

Although these measures were ahead of their time they did set a meaningful administrative framework. They can be best appreciated as a symbol of both state control of education and the concern attached to the need for regular school attendance.

Amendments to the School Ordinance in 1896 and 1898 altered some of the requirements stated in the "Compulsory Education" section. Previously a school was required to remain open for specific periods when a given number of children "of school age" resided within a certain area. In the 1896 revision the phrase "of school age" was altered to read "between the ages of seven and fourteen".[50] The selective alteration can be viewed as an inducement to have schools available for an increasing age range of pupils, rather than just the mandatory age seven to twelve range.

In 1896 the Territorial government also incorporated another requirement of significance to the local level in relation to the attendance question. Section 72 (17) of the Ordinance specifically mentioned the duty of the Board of Trustees of a district to see that "the law with reference to compulsory education and truancy is carried out".[51] However, in keeping with the symbolic environment, no penalty for non-compliance was indicated.

Evidence of an improvement in pioneer conditions can be gleaned from the altered requirement relating to attendance for specified periods of time. The 1898 revisions demanded that children aged seven to twelve residing within a school district attend at least sixteen weeks in a year, at least eight of which must be consecutive.[52] The previous requirement was twelve weeks, with eight being consecutive.

No further amendments to the "Compulsory Education" or "Truancy" sections of the Ordinance were instituted from 1898 until five years after Alberta became a province. This lack of revision occurred not because of a feeling that the legislation was adequately solving the attendance problem. Actually, the converse was true. The legislation was functioning as little more than a token attempt to confront the continuing twin dilemmas of poor attendance and the inadequate operation of schools, particularly in rural Alberta. Whereas in 1902 the average attendance of pupils in rural schools was 50 per cent of the total enrolment,[53] by 1909 it had risen to only 50.30 per cent.[54] In terms of the operation of rural schools there had been a similar lack of significant improvement. In 1900 the average length of the school year in rural Alberta was 157.75 days;[55] by 1909 the average had increased to only 159.56 days.[56]

Gradually a growing appreciation of the need to strengthen the legislation and to institute an effective enforcement system became apparent.

Conclusion

The period of 1888-1909 in the North-West Territories saw the development of a common school system under state leadership and control. Within this structural context the interaction between ratepayers and the parent government over educational matters reflected a great interest in schooling and a desire for the schooling process to work efficiently. However, various constraints associated with pioneer conditions interfered with the fulfillment of the desire. Although settlers were quick to erect school buildings, the steady operation of these structures and the regular attendance of pupils were not realized. Attempts by government to eradicate these problems through the usage of incentive grants issued to local school districts proved to be ineffective. Similarly, efforts through the medium of compulsory legislation failed to bring about the desired results, not only because of the superior power of the constraints but also because of inadequacies in both the legislation and the enforcement process.

The disparity between intention and result in each of these areas tended to underline the symbolic nature of the initial action. Little more than a structure for an effective state school system had been established. However, as the period under study neared its conclusion, government initiative, such as the enactment of legislation for the compulsory erection of school districts, indicated a recognition of the disparity and a desire to correct the situation. The initiative signalled the beginning of what might be called a bureaucratic stage of development.

Footnotes - Chapter Three

[1] Tyack, David B. "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling" Harvard Educational Review 46 (August 1976) pp. 359

[2] Selinger, A.D. "The Contributions of D.J. Goggin to the Development of Education in the North-West Territories 1893-1902" Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1960 pp. 3.

[3] Goresky, I. "The Beginning and Growth of the Alberta School System" Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1944 pp. 19.

[4] Uhlman, Harold J. "A Study of the Impact of Demographic and Economic Changes in Rural Alberta on the Finances of Education" Unpublished PhD. thesis, University of Alberta, 1959 pp. 25.

[5] Goresky, I. op. cit. pp. 22.

[6] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1884, 48 Victoria, C.5.

[7] McDonald, Neil G. "The School as an Agent of Nationalism in the North-West Territories, 1884-1905" Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1971. pp. 117.

[8] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1885, 49 Victoria, C.3 Art. 1.

[9] Patterson, Robert S. "F.W.G. Haultain and Education in the Early West" Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1961 pp. 42.

[10] Ibid pp. 65.

[11] Goresky, I. op. cit. pp. 84.

[12] Oliver, Edmund H. "Growth of Settlements and Institutions in Saskatchewan and Alberta: General History 1870-1912" pp. 163 in Vol 19 of Shortt, Adam and Doughty, Arthur G. (ed.) Canada and Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914)

[13] Ibid pp. 171.

[14] Ibid pp. 172.

[15] Ibid pp. 175

[16] Ibid pp. 176.

[17] Dafoe, J.W. "Economic History of the Prairie Provinces 1870-1913" pp. 327 in Vol. 20 of Shortt, Adam and Doughty, Arthur G. (eds.) Canada and Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914).

[18] Oliver, Edmund H. op.cit. pp. 155

[19] Uhlmah, Harold J. op.cit. pp. 26.

[20] Calder, J.A. "Report of the Deputy-Commissioner" Annual Report of the Department of Education 1903 (Regina: Government Printer, 1904) pp. 12.

[21] North-West Territories, Annual Report of the Department of Education 1901 (Regina: Government Printer, 1902) pp. 29.

[22] North-West Territories, Annual Report of the Department of Education 1902 (Regina: Government Printer, 1903) pp. 12.

[23] Uhlman, Harold J. op.cit. pp.25.

[24] McKerricher, A. (School Inspector, Lethbridge Inspectorate) Annual Report of the Department of Education 1910(Edmonton: Government Printer 1911) pp. 53.

[25] North-West Territories, "Report of the Secretary" Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1900 (Regina: Government Printer, 1901) pp. 18.

[26] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901, 1 Edward VII, C. 31.

[27] North-West Territories "Report of the Secretary" Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction 1900 (Regina: Government Printer, 1901) pp.18.

[28] Dent, Ivor G. "The Evolution of School Grants in Alberta" Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1956 pp. 17.

[29] Ibid pp. 14.

[30] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1888, 52 Victoria, C. 59, Art. 90 (1) (d).

[31] Goggin, D.J. "Report of the Superintendent of Education" Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction 1898 (Regina: Government Printer, 1899) pp. 12.

[32] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901, 1 Edward VII, C.31 s.1 (d).

[33] Ibid s. (2) (c).

[34] Ibid s. (1) (b)

[35] North-West Territories, Annual Report of the Department of Education 1901 (Regina: Government Printer, 1902) pp. 29.

[36] North-West Territories, Annual Report of the Department of Education 1902 (Regina: Government Printer, 1903) pp. 12.

[37] North-West Territories, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1903 (Regina: Government Printer, 1904) pp. 53.

[38] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education 1906 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1907) pp. 40.

[39] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1907 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1908) pp. 47.

[40] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1909 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1910) pp. 55.

[41] McCaig, J.M. "Report of the Superintendent of Schools" Annual Report 1906 (Edmonton: Edmonton Public School Board 1907) pp. 20.

[42] McKee, G.A. The Story of Edmonton School District No. 7 1885-1935 (Edmonton: Edmonton Public School Board, 1935) pp. 20

[43] McCaig, J.M. op. cit. pp. 18

[44] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1888, 52 Victoria, C. 59 s. 181-185.

[45] British Columbia, Public School Act, 1885, 48 Victoria, C. 25 s. 45, 46, 47.

[46] The Regina Leader Tues. Nov. 27, 1888 Vol. 6 No. 40 (Regina: The Leader Co. Ltd.) pp. 4.

[47] The Regina Leader Tues. Dec. 4, 1888 Vol. 6 No. 41 (Regina: The Leader Co. Ltd.) pp. 9.

[48] North-West Territories, Ordinance of the North-West Territories, 1892, 56 Victoria, C. 92 s. 191, 192, 193.

[49] Stamp, Robert M. School Days: A Century of Memories (A Pictoral History of Education in Calgary) (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975) pp. 58.

[50] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1896, 60 Victoria, C.2 s. 221, 222.

[51] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1898, 62 Victoria, C. 75 s. 72 (17).

[52] North-West Territories, Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1898, 62 Victoria, C. 75 s. 227.

[53] North-West Territories Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1902 (Regina: Government Printer, 1903) pp. 12

[54] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1909 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1910) pp. 17.

[55] North-West Territories, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1901 (Regina: Government Printer, 1902) pp. 29.

[56] Alberta Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1909 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1910) pp. 17.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPING THE STRUCTURE:
THE BEGINNING OF THE BUREAUCRATIC STAGE (1910-1923)

Introduction

Soon after the turn of the century, legislators and government personnel began to recognize the need to increase the effectiveness of the schooling process in Alberta. In particular, the poor attendance of pupils and the limited operation of schools were considered to be problems requiring immediate attention. For example, in 1911 the Canada Census indicated that in Alberta 37.14 per cent of children between the ages of seven and fourteen were not in school. Of the number of children attending school, 4.24 per cent attended between one and three months only, 13.87 per cent attended between four and six months and 44.75 per cent between seven and nine months.[1] In relation to the operation of schools, statistics compiled by the provincial Department of Education indicated that between 1906 and 1910 Alberta schools had been in operation an average of only 164.87 days during each school year.[2]

The response by government came in the form of new legislation, which called for the establishment of specific regulatory machinery. Whether or not the introduction of these new regulations and procedures ended the symbolic stage and ushered in a bureaucratic stage needs to be examined. David Tyack describes a bureaucratic stage, in relation to the history of compulsory attendance in the United States, as one in which "school systems grew in size and complexity, new techniques of bureaucratic control emerged, ideological conflict over compulsion diminished, strong laws were passed and school officials developed sophisticated techniques to bring truants into school."[3]

The applicability of the description to the Alberta situation deserves study, in relation to two specific areas of government activity: (1) the regulating of school attendance, and (2) the regulating of the erection and operation of schools. In reference to the latter, it is important to assess government action concerning schools in non-English communities and in relation to private schools.

Along with focusing upon elements of governmental control and supervision, an attempt is made to determine the presence of two other conditions which would verify the successful transition from a symbolic stage to a bureaucratic stage of development. The conditions are as follows: (1) an increase in the number and quality of symbols reflecting a commitment to schooling, particularly as they relate to government action; and (2) evidence of an improvement in the effectiveness of school functioning during the period.

Government activity in the period 1910 to 1923 followed a developmental pattern toward greater control and supervision of the schools of Alberta. The dates 1910 and 1923 have significance in relation to the evolution of compulsory attendance legislation, the chief means by which the government hoped to solve what it saw to be the predominant problem with schooling. The over-riding concern about inadequate levels of school attendance is the starting point for a study of the period.

The Need For New Legislation

By 1910, legislation which was enacted to deal with the problem of school attendance had proven to be relatively ineffective. The failure was particularly evident in reference to the provisions related to compulsory attendance. Reports from school inspectors, such as the following, substantiated the fact:

> I am convinced the clause in The School Ordinance relating to compulsory attendance could be and should be made more effective. At present evasion is so easy, and informing on a neighbour so distasteful, that seldom has an effort been made to put the law into force.4 (W. Rothwell, Central Assiniboia, 1903)
>
> I could learn of no case in which the law for compulsory attendance was enforced.5 (P. Thibaudeau, Lacombe 1906)
>
> Some trustees considered the advisability of using compulsion, but thought that as the law stands at present little good could be effected, but much unfriendly feeling likely to be aroused.6 (J.W. Brown, Medicine Hat 1907)

> The Ordinance, of course, provides for compulsory attendance, but either the excuses which are to be accepted as justifying non-attendance are too numerous or school boards hesitate to lay information against indifferent parents. The intention of the Ordinance, in any case, is being defeated.[7] (D.D. McKerricher, Lethbridge 1909)

Having documented the impotence of the legislation relating to compulsory attendance, the inspectors offered solutions to the problem. Not only did they feel that the legislation needed to be strengthened but also that the government should take the initiative to see that this was accomplished.[8,9] Even as early as 1898 Superintendent Goggin called for strict government action:

> The power that creates the necessary institutions and furnishes the needed funds should wield the required coercive authority. If, when the schools are opened and their cost provided for, many of the children attend but half time, there is not only a waste of money and teaching power, but there is a loss of intelligence that will count against the welfare of the individual and the civic and industrial future of the nation.[10]

The Truancy Act (1910)

The steady pleading helped achieve a positive response. In December 1910 the Provincial Legislature passed An Act Respecting Truancy and Compulsory School Attendance, given the short title The Truancy Act.[11] (See Appendix A)

The Act was modelled after contemporary legislation in Ontario.[12] The significance ascribed by government to the subject matter was underscored by the creation of a new and separate Act, rather than by incorporating new clauses into the omnibus School Ordinance. Its contents signified the government's desire for a definite centralization of management and control of school attendance, through the operation of specific bureaucratic procedures.

Unfortunately, there is no record of the debate in the Legislature which took place at the time when the new legislation or subsequent amendments of future years were presented. In the absence of a record of proceedings for the period, such as Hansard later provided, the Alberta daily newspapers were consulted.[13] In 1910 for example they noted only the mechanics of the bill's passage, while observing that debate occurred in Committee of the Whole sessions held between second and third readings.

A number of important new clauses were introduced in the document. For example, a child under fourteen years of age was forbidden to be employed during school hours unless excused by the exemption stated in the Act.[14] An employer who contravened this section was liable for a penalty of twenty dollars. This was the first effort in Alberta to incorporate a provision relating to child labour, a matter of long-standing concern to more highly developed provinces and countries. The clause reflected the awareness of the need to come to terms with the realities of a budding urbanization, commercialism and, to some degree, industrialization in the province. It also suggests that school officials and others were becoming increasingly aware that conditions other than those relating to rural schooling had a bearing on attendance.[15]

From the report in 1911 of the truant officer who served both Edmonton Public and Edmonton Separate School Systems we are led to believe that this section of the new Act had the desired effect:

> At the beginning of the year an important work was done in taking out of regular employment children under fourteen years of age. The employers of labour are now fairly well informed as to the terms of the act, and are in most cases careful not to violate it.[16]

Another clause compelled children between ages of seven and thirteen, inclusive, to attend school, rather than those between the ages of seven and twelve.[17] The change can be interpreted as legislative encouragement for schools to address themselves to a broader age range of pupils.

Besides parents being bound to have their children attend, the new legislation demanded that any other person caring for a child, whether by legal custody or otherwise, was subject to the same duty.[18]

Ironically, the grounds for exemption from attendance allowed in previous legislation were broadened and generous phrases such as "or other unavoidable cause" were retained.[19] An exclusion on the basis of insufficient accomodation was instituted. Furthermore, a principal or justice of the peace could excuse a child for a period of up to six weeks per school term, of which there were two in a school year, if the child's services were required "in husbandry or in urgent and necessary house-hold duties, or for the necessary maintenance of such child or of some person dependent on him".[20] In this latter instance, the legislation was attempting to relate the demand for attendance to the still-delicate life-support system in many rural areas.

Further irony was evident in the requirement to employ a truant officer. Section 7 made it mandatory for cities and towns to appoint, control and pay such a person but it was precisely in these locations that attendance was not as significant a problem. For example, during the period 1906 to 1910 the average percentage of attendance related to the yearly total enrolment was 53.44, compared to 49.91 per cent in the rural areas.[21] During the same time period schools were open an average of 195.53 days per year in urban areas of Alberta but only 156.98 days in rural districts.[22] In the rural areas, where the problem was most severe, a "may" rather than a "shall" clause applied, with the Minister empowered to appoint such truant officers who may be required "from time to time".[23]

The author has been unable to find data which would suggest that any ministerial initiative was undertaken regarding this matter in the period just after passage of the legislation. The inaction was understandable. Whereas in urban areas the requirement to appoint a truant officer was realistic, given sizeable school populations located in confined geographical areas, rural conditions posed a unique challenge to the establishment of an effective mechanism to enforce attendance.

The Act was heavily prescriptive in its reporting and regulatory procedures. In a persual of these requirements one sees the beginning of the bureaucratic stage. For example, every truant officer was required "to report monthly to the body appointing him and annually to the Minister of Education according to the forms prescribed by the regulations".[24] The teacher or principal of every school in the province was required to report weekly to his truant officer the names and necessary particulars about truant children as well as children who had been expelled.[25]

There was little reason for doubt about the centre of control for attendance matters. Boards were to notify the Department immediately upon hiring a truant officer.[26] Locally-determined regulations for his work were subject to approval of the Minister.[27] In default of hiring a truant officer or of setting regulations, a city or town board faced the possibilities of an officer being selected by the Minister to serve their jurisdiction at their expense[28] and regulations being set to direct the new employee.[29]

A truant officer's powers were clearly stated:

> A truant officer shall for the purposes of this Act be vested with the powers of a peace officer, and shall have authority to enter theatres, playhouses, places of public entertainment and amusement, factories, workshops, stores, shops and all other places where children may be employed or congregated and to perform such duties as may be necessary for the enforcement of this Act.[30]

He was further empowered to send home or accompany home a suspected truant.[31] He was required to investigate all reports of truancy, to issue a written warning to the parents of an offender and to proceed to court if further action was necessary. Failure to perform his duty in enforcing the Act would result in a penalty being imposed on him as well.[32]

The truant officer was a powerful government agent put to work in Alberta communities. He exercised considerable authority as an intervenor in what had previously been regarded as the private affairs of people. Both he and the authority granted to him symbolized the value ascribed to schooling by the government and by the majority of citizens who offered at least a passive acceptance to his presence. It was precisely these citizens, however, who believed in schooling and gave it priority in their lives. To them the truant officer was not a threat but a 'defender of the faith'.

Passage of the new legislation was met with great anticipation. The Deputy-Minister of the Department of Education had the following comments:

> It is hoped that through the operation of the Truancy Act and through the continuance of aggressive work in the organization of schools in newly settled districts the number of children of school age who are not attending school will be materially reduced.33

The school inspectors were equally hopeful:

> A number of children have been in attendance for a limited time. The provisions of the recent legislation will make it much easier to secure a remedy for such cases. In my opinion there is urgent need for putting into operation the provisions now made for compelling proper attendance.34 (E.L. Hill, Strathcona 1910)

> Many of my best teachers are looking forward to the operation of the Compulsory Attendance Act as the greatest auxiliary for successful work this year.35 (G.F. McNally Wetaskiwin 1910)

In their 1911 reports almost all of the school inspectors commented upon the working of the new Act. It seemed obvious to them that the new legislation was not achieving general success. While in the cities and towns some definite progress could be noted, the rural schools were basically unaffected by passage of the document. Inspector Fife considered the new legislation to be a "dead letter" in most country districts.[36] Other inspectors commented upon the lack of initiative undertaken by local boards to enforce attendance,[37,38] a condition brought about largely by the reluctance of one neighbor to report the offense of another and of the local board to prosecute the case.[39] There was an obvious need for the Minister to use his option of creating an enforcement mechanism for rural schools.

Further Legislative Changes

The perceived shortcoming spurred an amendment to The Truancy Act during the 1911-1912 session of the Legislative Assembly.[40] Essentially, it called for the appointment of a Provincial Truant Officer, who would have jurisdiction in all parts of the province where truant officers were not in existence. The amendment indicated clearly how attendance problems would be handled in the rural areas. There would be a centralized coordination and control, to be given focus in the newly created position within the Department of Education.

A subtle but powerful further amendment was passed in 1913.[41] The last paragraph of Section 7(2) was to be replaced by a new paragraph:

> The Minister may also appoint officers to be known as provincial truant officers, and a chief truant officer, all of whom shall have jurisdiction in all parts of the province and the duties of such truant officers may be defined and their remuneration fixed by the Minister.

With a slight re-wording the Department extended its power to include not just the rural school districts but all districts, rural and urban. The amendment allowed cities and towns to keep their officers but now they would be brought under the jurisdiction of the central authority.

A paternalistic relationship was being established, through the supervision of all local activity and the requirement that a specific reporting format be followed.

The school inspectors were delegated to act as provincial truant officers throughout the province. It was a clever plan and one which held great promise for success. These men already were government officials commissioned to perform general supervision of city, town and/or rural schools in a specified geographical area of the province. The duties relating to truancy were to become an additional professional task to be performed in each inspectorate.

The school inspectors had particular strengths to help accomplish the task. They were proven educators who could work, hopefully, with efficiency, understanding and diplomacy. They were 'government men' who were accustomed to a particular reporting procedure and who knew about additional Departmental resources which could be called upon. They already had a working relationship with boards and teachers, particularly in rural areas. The knowledge of local environment, in both political and geographical terms, would help determine a preferred plan for specific truancy problems. As 'outsiders' and government supervisors they could be effective in cases where local personnel had expressed indifference or reluctance to act.

There were other important changes brought about in the amendments of 1911-1912 and 1913. Proof that a city child was being offered sufficient instruction outside of school was to be presented within five days instead of one month of the receipt of a complaint.[42] A further change in this regard, in 1913, gave the school inspector the power to evaluate the question in reference not only to a city child but a town or rural child as well.[43] Instead of an after-the-fact arrangement, the new clause required parents to obtain, beforehand, a written statement from a school inspector. A yearly renewal of this verification document was also made mandatory. The clause indicates the enormous power of a governmental official to control the options to state schools.

Private schools were to be exempted from the requirements of the Act, given the deletion of the phrase "private school" in the section which defined "school" for the purposes of the Act.[44] The author was unable to find a written explanation for this puzzling change. Private schools were a topical concern of government, given their delicate relationship to a state school system. Paradoxically, the amendment effectively removed an element of state control on a day-to-day basis. The increased power of the school inspector to evaluate what constituted sufficient instruction outside of a school, i.e. public or separate school as now defined, could effectively force a private school to close but this was only 'power at the door'. Once in operation, there would be no external control over attendance of its pupils. Perhaps it was assumed that the financial and ideological commitment made by the private school parent would be sufficient 'control' over attendance.

In another clause, the provision for exemption on the basis of distance between schools and home was made more stringent.[45] Two miles became two-and-a-half miles for the child under ten years of age; three miles became three-and-a-half miles for the older child. The author can only speculate that better roads and the heightened concern that year for attendance brought about the change.

A further amendment stated that a warning to parents was to be given a specific written format[46] and the child was required to attend within five days of being notified in this manner.[47] Not only was the child requested to attend but also to remain in regular attendance thereafter. "Schedule A" attached to the 1913 amendments suggested a wording for the warning to parents.

> Take notice that unless within five days from the receipt by you of this notice you cause your child (or ward), (child's name), to attend school, you will be liable to prosecution under "The Truancy Act" of the Province of Alberta.

The year 1913 also saw dramatic changes in legislation regarding the compulsory operation of schools[48] and grants to schools.[49] In reference to the operation of schools, until 1913 a school board was not obligated to have its school open for more than one hundred and twenty days per year, unless there were at least twenty children between the ages of seven and fourteen residing within the district. In fact, the board was not required to operate its school at all if there were less than ten children of school age in the district. In the new legislation, all schools were to remain open at all times during the school year, unless permitted to close by reason of specific conditions described in the Act or by the approval of the Minister. Furthermore, any closures undertaken for reasons other than statutory holidays were to be reported immediately to the Department.

The legislative change was a potent ultimatum to local boards. It was also a logical extension of the desire for increased centralized control and it created further dependency by local boards upon the parent government. Deputy-Minister MacKenzie, in his 1913 report, expressed his pleasure with the new system, which permitted the Department to have a more accurate picture of the operation of the province's schools, rather than having to depend upon the receipt of a term return or the report of an inspector.[50]

The change was also a bold statement about the importance of state schools. In ensuing years it would be heralded, along with the changes in methods to enforce The Truancy Act, as the reason for greatly improved school attendance.

The School Grants Act of 1913[51] was the first major revision of the grant structure since Alberta became a province. Significantly, it contained no provision for a grant based upon attendance, except for a high school grant. The previous system of incentive grants established to encourage a high percentage of attendance relative to enrolment, as highlighted in the 1901 legislation, was withdrawn. It can be said that in relation to compulsory schooling the year 1913 signalled the end of financial persuasion as a technique and the beginning of a trust and reliance upon effective enforcement. The goal remained vitally important but there was a purposeful shifting of thought regarding how best to attain the goal.

To complete a review of legislative changes in the period covered by this chapter, the author wishes to note amendments to The Truancy Act between 1913 and 1922. In 1915 the age range for compulsory attendance was changed from seven to thirteen inclusive, to seven to fourteen inclusive.[52] However, a fourteen year old child could be exempted if he/she was regularly employed during school hours in "a useful occupation".[53] The exemption remained until 1919 when it was revoked and employers were threatened by penalty not to hire such a child.[54]

The expansion of the age range for compulsory attendance reflected the fact that children were staying longer in school and also that there was a heightened demand for high schools. It was an example of legislative action following rather than precipitating educational change. In his annual report of 1915, Deputy-Minister MacKenzie noted the increase in the percentage of total enrolment represented by the number of pupils in secondary grades as "conclusive evidence that higher education is receiving increased attention".[55] In 1913 the figure was 3.96 per cent or 3,163 pupils; by 1915 it stood at 5.38 per cent or 5,233 pupils.

In 1916 the names "truant" and "truancy" were officially discarded and the word "attendance" put in their place.[56] Therefore The Truancy Act became The School Attendance Act and a truant officer became an attendance officer. In his 1916 report the Chief Attendance Officer explained the name change in this way:

> As the work of the School Attendance Branch and the Attendance Officers is primarily to secure the more regular attendance of the school population the new titles ... are more appropriate.[57]

The stated reason for the name change can be understood in two senses and perhaps only the first was appreciated in the Chief Attendance Officer's rationale. First the change brought about a better identification of name with function, as stated above. Secondly, it tended to put a focus on positive and preventive activity rather than negative and offense-centred activity. However, the initial words, truant and truancy, had made an indelible imprint. The visual image was too powerful to persuade the public to alter its vocabulary.

Through further amendments in 1916, attendance officers were required to report monthly rather than annually to the Department.[58] It was a logical request, justified by the Chief Attendance Officer's authority over attendance matters in all parts of the province. The requirement made attendance officers in the towns and cities more accountable to the Department and permitted a continual monitoring by the Department of enforcement action and conditions affecting attendance in these localities. A further exemption based on distance from school was added in consideration of consolidated districts. A child was exempted if he lived more than one mile from the usual route travelled by the conveyance.[59]

Amendments of 1918 and 1919 provide a good insight into the degree of bureaucratization taking place in the Department and will be discussed in that context later in the chapter. Additionally, the exemption because a child had passed the public school leaving examination was removed.[60] In the latter case exemption was possible only in the case of no higher grades being taught in the district. Again, it was legislation to entice attendance in the higher grades.

The Claim of Early Success

As early as the end of 1913 significant progress in improving the level of attendance was being claimed. The Minister of Education noted that "the machinery of the department, including the Inspectors, has been used to keep the schools in operation and the children in attendance, with the result that the average percentage of attendance has appreciably increased".[61] By 1915 the Minister was exceptionally pleased. His comments were as follows:

> Two years ago we commenced to build up an organization for complete enrolment and regular attendance in our rural schools, and now are getting pronounced results ... Our aggregate attendance in the rural schools has increased in two years from 3,403,422 to 5,037,541, being an increase in two years of 48 per cent. This remarkable increase ... is chiefly due to our organization for requiring schools to be kept in operation and the children to attend thereat. During the same period the average percentage of regularity of attendance of those enrolled in our rural schools has increased from 54 per cent in 1913 or 58.86 per cent in 1915, which is, I believe, the highest average of any of the provinces in Canada using the same system of computation.62

The accomplishment was a fair claim but the cause of the increase was questionable. On the surface it appeared that the results might be primarily a function of a vigilant enforcement system. However the more plausible explanation lay in the improved operation of schools. As the Minister of Education told the Legislature in 1916 there had been only 8.28 per cent of the districts not operating in 1915 compared to the much higher figure of 23.70 per cent in 1913.[63]

Enforcement itself had not become the significant determinant of attendance levels which many had desired. The powerful constraints affecting a huge social enterprise such as schooling still had a great influence. For example, the exhilaration of 1915 had led to a sobering experience in 1916 when the average attendance decreased, because of older students leaving classrooms for either overseas service or farm labour. In fact, the enforcement process was purposely adjusted to accommodate the exodus, as mentioned in Deputy-Minister MacKenzie's 1916 report.

> In accordance with the general policy with respect to increased farm production, the School Attendance Act was less stringently enforced with respect to those who could reasonably be expected to assist in husbandry.[64]

Official sanction for school absence can be ascertained from a letter written to school personnel in 1917 by the Chief Attendance Officer of the province.[65] (See Appendix B)

The power of enforcement was often reduced also because of the compromises made on the basis of compassionate considerations. The 1918 Report of the Chief Attendance Officer mentions how, because of the epidemic of influenza that year "the utmost discretion was necessary in order to avoid injustice being done to anyone in the enforcement of school attendance throughout the province".[66] Investigations at the local level often called for the skill of a social worker. The 1921 Report of the Chief Attendance Officer comments on the poverty encountered due to the depressed economic conditions and how enforcement personnel attempted to refer families to possible sources of assistance.[67] A similar referral role is mentioned in relation to child neglect in the 1920 Report[68] and in reference to mentally defective children in the 1922 Report.[69] In actual practice, enforcement was not the dispassionate enterprise suggested by the image of the truant officer.

The Bureaucracy at Work: The Personnel and the Process

Legislation had determined that the prime actor on the compulsory attendance scene would be the Chief Attendance Officer. The initial appointment was made in June 1913 when M.M. O'Brien was moved from other Departmental responsibilities to the position of Provincial Truant Officer,[70] a title which was altered the next year to Chief Provincial Truant Officer and in 1916 to Chief Attendance Officer. O'Brien served in this position until 1917, when he enlisted for overseas service. D.C. McEachern succeeded him and continued in the position until the end of the 1920's.

The position, as provided in legislation, focused school attendance matters upon one official, charged with overseeing effective enforcement throughout the province. The demands of the task necessitated a full-time officer.

In fact the work-load led to the establishment of the Attendance Branch, with the necessary clerical personnel to assist the Chief Attendance Officer.

The importance of the function led not only to a separate branch but to a separate "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" each year in the Annual Reports of the Department. The report is a rich source of information about many factors relating to school attendance in Alberta.

O'Brien saw much of his activity during the first few years as being educational in nature, because, as he indicated, " teachers, trustees and parents were not familiar with the provisions of the Truancy Act".[71]

The attention given to publicizing the provisions of the Act was commendable. It maximized the potential for preventive action as opposed to a total reliance upon after-the-fact enforcement. However, enforcement soon became the predominant course of action.

At the city and town level procedures relied upon the presence of truant officers employed by each district. The officers were required to report monthly to their school board and to the Department.[72] Regular reports from teachers related to the unsatisfactory attendance of children provided the basis for investigative action. If the absence was found to be without sufficient reason, the officer warned the parents about the requirement of the Act. If this action failed to produce the desired result, a formal warning notice was issued and, if after five days the child was still not in school, the parents could be taken to court.

For the village and rural schools there was far less locally-managed activity, in part because of the absence of truant officers in each specific district, and also because the Department's deep concern about attendance in these areas tended to encourage a closer monitoring of attendance levels. Prescriptive procedures were laid out, all of which bound the local district to the Attendance Branch in an elaborate network of reporting and accounting.

Rural and village teachers were required to submit regular attendance reports directly to the Attendance Branch. Before 1916 these were to be submitted quarterly.[73] After 1916 monthly reports were made mandatory, not only from rural and village teachers but also from teachers in small towns.[74] In the latter case the Branch would in turn notify the local attendance officer.[75]

After perusal of these Monthly Attendance Returns, Branch personnel would send letters to parents of children whose attendance was both unsatisfactory and inexcusable. The teachers of these pupils would also be notified to closely monitor their attendance. In cases where attendance problems persisted, a second letter would be sent to the parents advising them of the penalties of the Act. If this effort brought no improvement, Inspectors were asked to investigate and, if necessary, prosecute.

It should be mentioned that the school inspectors could enter the enforcement process at a more preventative stage. At the time of his regular general inspection he could assess whether there were any attendance problems and take appropriate action while in the district.[76]

The 'paper work' involved in the system of centralized control established by the Department to deal with school attendance was extensive. Local districts depended upon the Department for efficient management of its bureaucratic apparatus and the Department had made its efficiency dependent upon the receipt from local districts of the proper forms, accurately filled out. The dual dependency brought about many frustrations and hindrances of bureaucratic efficiency. A perusal of the letters addressed by Department officials to local personnel, which are displayed in Appendix C, will give the reader an indication of the problem.[77]

In his 1921 report McEachern lashed out at those not playing 'the paper game' properly:

> The school census, which is a necessary return on which to base the enforcement of school attendance was, during the year 1921, provided in only 50 per cent of the rural and village school districts throughout the province. The result of this failure on the part of the school officials is to make it difficult for the teacher in charge of the school to report definitely the cases of breach of School Attendance Act in the district, and a

> corresponding inability of the Attendance Branch to know the exact condition of attendance in such districts.[78]

The extent to which McEachern had accepted the bureaucratic procedures is evident in his assessment of how the problem could be solved. Rather than criticizing the inherent problems of the reporting system, he simply stated that the Branch hoped for an improvement in the quality of reporting during the following year.

The prescriptive procedures that are the essence of the 1918 and 1919 amendments to the School Attendance Act are good examples of the extent to which bureaucracy had permeated enforcement policy. A pervasive legalism had also set in, with a demand for affidavits, an elaborate explanation of the right and duties of attendance officers and parents alike, and the convoluted vocabulary characteristic of such documents. (See Appendix D for typical examples)[79,80,81]

The formal procedures as set out by the legislation and the elaborate reporting system demanded by the Department led to a situation deemed to be efficient and effective. A structure had been established which remained unaltered for two decades. By the early 1920's the Chief Attendance Officer felt a stage had been reached which justified a sense of accomplishment. He could point to a thirty per cent reduction between 1921 and 1922 in the number of families contacted about attendance problems, in both the rural and urban parts of the province. He maintained that parents were generally well informed about the law governing school attendance and were earnestly attempting to comply with its requirements.[83] McEachern also claimed that the work of the Attendance Branch could be considered as the main reason for a number of improvements concerning attendance:

> It would seem therefore ... that the work of the Attendance Branch of the Department is bearing fruit in the increase in the average attendance maintained per pupil, as well as in the percentage of attendance maintained by the individual school district, and that the habit of regular attendance which is inculcated by the enforcement of the law, is having its influence by raising the standard of education in the rural as well as the urban schools of the province.[84]

The extent to which enforcement was the reason for improvements in attendance was debatable. The question will be examined in Chapter VI.

Compulsory Schooling and the Ethnic Question

Not only was there a distinctively bureaucratic management of school attendance in the province but this was also the case with monitoring and enforcing the compulsory operation of schools. The intent of the 1913 amendment was clear. Schools were to remain open except when authorized by the Department to close. However, enforcement of this provision was a mammoth task, which was made even more difficult by the bureaucratic methods used. The fact is illustrated in the copies of correspondence sent by the Registrar of the Department to local districts in 1917.[85] (See Appendix E)

Department officials were prepared to tolerate a certain degree of disparity between the real and the ideal in terms of the erection and the operation of schools. As with the enforcement of attendance there was an appreciation of the way in which a variety of constraints hampered the full and continuous concrete expression of an interest in schooling. However, there was an apprehension concerning a particular segment of the immigrating community which, it was felt, did not share the same enthusiasm for schools. Furthermore, these people did not have the same mother tongue or love of King and country. It was considered imperative to draw them into the schools so as to assimilate them into the Canadian way. Goggin's words in 1898 clearly stated the importance of the matter.

> One of the most serious and pressing educational problems arises from the settlement among us of so many foreign nationalities in the block or "colony" system ....
>
> To assimilate these different races, to secure the cooperation of these alien forces, are problems demanding for their solution, patience, tact and tolerant but firm legislation ....
>
> Only through our schools getting an early hold of the children of these settlers can we hope to train them to live according to our school system, and to understand and appreciate the institutions of the country which they are to form an integral part of....
>
> It is to their advantage as well as ours to have their children taught by those who, while having a sympathy for their customs, shall be Canadian in spirit, thought and language.

> If these children are to grow up as Canadian citizens they must be led to adopt our viewpoint and speak our speech.[86]

The argument in favor of the compulsory establishment of school districts, passed in 1901, relied heavily upon the concern over non-English settlements. Furthermore, one of the first actions taken by the new province of Alberta concerning education was to establish in 1905 the intriguing title "Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners". It was a unique way of coping with the concerns about schools in immigrant settlements. Rather than being stationed in Edmonton, the Supervisor was stationed at Wostok, in the heart of the Ruthenian (Ukranian) colony, which was the primary target population for his work. This decentralization of action by the Department removed much of the bureaucratic inefficiency which was a function of a heavy reliance upon supervision by correspondence.

Robert Fletcher, the first Supervisor, worked to ensure the establishment of school districts and the erection of schools. He was also engaged in the employment of teachers, and assisted with the levying of taxes.[87] In some situations he used forceful and direct authority by assuming the role of Official Trustee, performing all of the duties of a school board and its officers; in other situations he simply supervised the activities of these people.

Fletcher's appointment, as viewed from an ideological perspective, was a dramatic statement by the Alberta government about their belief in the vital role of the public school as an agent of assimilation. J.T. Anderson, writing at the time, used this phrasing:

> The greatest agency in racial assimilation is the common or public school. This is the great melting-pot into which must be placed these divers racial groups, and from which will eventually emerge the pure gold of Canadian citizenship.[88]

In the same ideological sense Fletcher could be considered not only a government agent but a cultural agent as well. In his activities he transmitted the value system of the dominant Anglo-Saxon majority, for whom "Canadianization" essentially equalled "Englishization".

A good example of this value position lay with a problem in 1913 described by Fletcher as one in which "the Ruthenian schools were raided by would-be teachers from Manitoba and Saskatchewan".[89] These people were of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) descent, invited by an organization wishing, among other things, to incorporate into the schools a degree of instruction in the native language. Fletcher's response was quick and firm. Since most of these people did not meet Alberta teaching qualifications he disqualified them from instructing. As well he secured the passage of legislation which imposed a fine for those instructing without proper qualifications and which made it impossible for such persons to collect their salaries.[90]

Fletcher's efforts were often met with suspicion and resistance but in an amazingly brief time there came to be an almost universal acceptance of the terms under which schooling was to be undertaken. By 1915 he could state:

> The schools among foreigners are functioning properly in the Province. The organization of the area into school districts has been completed, and as new settlements arise their organization is proceeding as in the other parts of the Province. There are now about one hundred and thirty schools, the majority of whose ratepayers are Ruthenian. The whole area is dominated by the state school, just as the rest of the Province is.[91]

The author maintains that in the background of this positive condition was a general desire for schools. Canada Census information for the year 1921 supports this viewpoint. Of all rural Albertans within the ages of seven and fourteen 86.88 per cent were attending school. Within this category, however, the percentage of attendance of those who were foreign born (non-British) was 87.88, one percentage point higher.[92]

The Alberta government had to come to terms with various other ethnic groups as well. The same insistence upon the primacy of state schools characterized the interaction. For example, L.G. Thomas mentions that in the 1905 provincial election, the surprise election of the Conservative candidate in the Rosebud riding was likely due to the government's refusal of private schools to the substantial Mennonite element in the riding.[93]

The 1914 report of the Chief Inspector of Schools mentions a confrontation with newly-established private schools, supported by a German-Lutheran Church. The Chief Inspector had refused to issue a certificate stating that the schools were offering efficient instruction, since he felt that the schools "did not attain the standard of proficiency of the schools these students would attend provided the private schools were not in existence".[94] Without the certificate the schools could not lawfully operate and as a result the Church closed the majority of them.

A similar firm stance by government met the first group of Hutterites which arrived in 1918. The Report of the Deputy-Minister of Education for 1919 mentions how educational officials visited each Colony to outline the school system of the province and the laws governing it. The leaders generally were willing to submit to the regulations. The land occupied by each Colony therefore became established as a school district, with the Inspector of Schools as Official Trustee.[95] An effective working relationship between the Hutterites and government officials continued in existence, with the exception of disagreement over the mandatory school-leaving age. One Inspector, writing in 1934, had this to say about the relationship he experienced:

6

> As the official trustee for these districts (i.e. colonies of the Hutterian Brethren of Southern Alberta) I have been responsible for the selection of teachers and for the maintenance of their school during the year. The leaders of these Colonies, have always cooperated with the Department of Education in the schools and have invariably supported their teachers.[96]

The relationship between the provincial government and Indian and Metis groups in Alberta was largely in contrast to this pattern of involvement. In relation to Indian education there was a logical reason for government inaction, since the matter was a federal rather than a provincial responsibility. With the Metis, the case was not clear-cut. It appears that no concerted effort to approach the question of state schools on Metis Colonies was evident until the late 1950's,[97] perhaps because the isolation of most of these settlements tended to minimize the concerns which had been expressed by government over minority groups in more populated areas of Alberta.

However in its actions towards the vast majority of minority groups the provincial government was transmitting a firm message not only about the importance of a state school system but also about its reluctance to encourage the development of alternatives to state schools, that is, private schools. The privilege of establishing separate schools, as defined and guaranteed in the terms of provincehood in 1905, was accepted as a necessary part of the granting of autonomy. School attendance legislation from 1910 onward also took into account the right to separate schools, by stating that nothing in the Act required the child of a separate school supporter to attend a public school or vice versa.[98] Beyond the scope within which separate schools operated, there was little willingness by government to permit further fragmentation of a unitary state school system. The common school held sway unless the supporters of private schools, where these structures were allowed to exist, were prepared to tolerate 'double taxation' and the presence of governmental regulation and supervision.

State Power Re-Affirmed: the Ulmer Case

One Albertan, a man by the name of Ulmer, decided to test the legal basis upon which the government justified its actions, not only concerning private schools but also concerning the general question of compulsory attendance. His case was heard in 1922 and it stands as the only appeal to a higher court of a Magistrate's decision on a school attendance question during the years which this study encompasses.[99]

In the report of the Chief Attendance Officer for that year the pertinent background of the confrontation is outlined:

> During the year an appeal from the Magistrate's decision was carried to the Appellate Court. This case involved the attendance of a considerable number of pupils who were not attending

> their own schools and whose parents claimed exemptions on the ground that they were receiving efficient instruction in a private school. It was, however, impossible for them to provide corroboration of their claim by the production of an inspector's report that their children were receiving efficient instruction in such school.100

Ulmer's children were attending a German-Lutheran school for which an Inspector refused to grant a certificate. In the initial action Ulmer was charged with violating The Truancy Act in not sending his children to the public school of his district.

Ulmer's appeal had three contentions and the Court's decision was a clear response to each. First, he contended that section 93 of The B.N.A. Act was general in its application and therefore applied to any minority that had enjoyed religious freedom of education prior to 1867. In response the Justices of the Appellate Court maintained that the section applied only to those minorities specifically contemplated by the framers of the constitution and was applicable only to those provinces which were being united at that particular date.[101] The German-Lutheran group could not meet this qualification.

Secondly, Ulmer contended that the Inspector of Schools had no authority to deny a certificate to the Lutheran private school. The Court, in upholding the Inspector's powers, maintained that:

> Where an inspector refused to grant such certificate the magistrate was justified in convicting the parents for a violation of the Act, and he cannot go beyond the absence of the certificate to ascertain why the inspector had refused it.[102]

Thirdly, Ulmer contended that the Alberta School Attendance Act violated the protective provisions guaranteed to minorities, not only under section 93 of the B.N.A. Act, but also section 17 of The Alberta Act. The Court ruled that neither section was violated and that in regard to the latter section, only the privileges of separate schools, defined as either the Protestant or Roman Catholic minorities in a district, are safeguarded. It also ruled that it was within the power of the Provincial Legislature to pass the Act in question, a provision of which gave the Department of Education control over private schools.

Ulmer was unsuccessful on all three counts. McEachern mentions that the decision of the Court was rendered in December, 1922 and that the children began attending the public school in their district before the end of the year.[103]

The Ulmer case helped clarify a number of issues, some of which can be mentioned here: (1) The enactment of compulsory attendance legislation was found to be well within the powers of the province. (2) Private schools had rights only to the extent that they were granted by the province. (3) The courts would not question the discretion of provincial authorities in their control of private schools.

The outcome of the Ulmer case, in a sense, was a judicial stamp of approval offered to the legislators and enforcement personnel.

Conclusion

The net effect of the court decision in the Ulmer case was a buttressed position of power for a government already boldly living out its belief in the importance of a state school system. The ideology had been expressed in many ways. In terms of legislation, it led the government to make compulsory the erection of schools, their steady operation, and the regular attendance of pupils within these structures. Management of the demands set forth in legislation had led to the development of a highly centralized model of control and supervision, which was clearly visible in the bureaucratic apparatus designed to regulate the enforcement of school attendance. The ideology also had shaped the style and substance of the interaction between Department of Education officials and non-English settlers on the one hand, and proponents of private schools on the other. During the period 1910 to 1923 there occurred an evolution of legislation and a refinement of bureaucratic procedures. Whereas the Symbolic Stage in Alberta saw the emergence and development of state control of schooling, the Bureaucratic Stage witnessed its attainment. By the end of the period all of the elements pertaining to the enforcement of compulsory schooling were firmly established.

Footnotes - Chapter Four

[1] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Sixth Census of Canada, 1921 Vol. II (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1925) pp. 693. Unfortunately, an urban-rural breakdown of school attendance statistics was not initiated until the 1931 Census.

[2] Alberta, Department of Education Annual Reports for the given years. The figure noted is the mean of the yearly averages indicated for each of the years 1906-1910.

[3] Tyack, David B. "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling" Harvard Educational Review 46 (August, 1976), pp. 356-389.

[4] North-West Territories, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1903 (Edmonton, Government Printer, 1904) pp. 49.

[5] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1906 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1907) pp. 48.

[6] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1907 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1908) pp 51.

[7] A.R., 1909, pp. 51. Unfortunately, the author has been unable to secure any local school board statistics to be able to verify or refute the School Inspectors' observations during this period.

[8] A.R., 1906, pp. 42. (J.A. Smith, Calgary Inspectorate)

[9] A.R., 1909, pp. 55 (E.L. Hill, Strathcona Inspectorate)

[10] Goggin, D.J. "Report of the Superintendent of Education" Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1898 (Regina: Government Printer, 1899) pp. 3. The extent to which the views of Goggin and the School Inspectors was shared by persons or groups outside of the Department of Education deserves examination.

[11] Alberta, An Act Respecting Truancy and Compulsory School Attendance, 1910 (Second Session), 1 George V, C.8, Statutes of Alberta, 95-98.

[12] Miller, James C. Rural Schools in Canada (New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1913) pp. 84.

[13] Daily newspapers consulted were The Edmonton Bulletin, The Edmonton Capital, The Edmonton Journal, and The Calgary Daily Herald.

[14] Alberta, The Truancy Act 1910 (Second Session), 1 George V, C.8 s.6, Statutes of Alberta.

[15] see Coulter, Rebecca "Alberta's Department of Neglected Children, 1909-1929: A Case Study in Child Saving" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1977.

[16] Donnally, George "Report of the Attendance Officer" Annual Report, Edmonton Public School Board, 1911 (Edmonton: n.p., 1912) pp. 30.

[17] Alberta, The Truancy Act, 1910 (Second Session), 1 George V, C.8 s.3, Statutes of Alberta.

[18] Ibid s. 4

[19] Ibid s. 5, 6

[20] Ibid s. 6 (2)

[21] Annual Reports for the given years. Each figure is the mean of the yearly averages indicated for each category in the years 1906-1910. The yearly average was a crude indicator, often unrepresentative of the real situation. For example, a student who moved away in late September would adversely affect the percentage for the whole year. The superior system was instituted in 1916, which determined a monthly percentage of attendance. It related attendance during a given month to the number of pupils enrolled in that month only, rather than those enrolled since the start of the school year.

[22] Annual Reports for the given years. Each figure in the mean of the yearly averages indicated for each category in the years 1906-1910.

[23] The Truancy Act, 1910 s. 7 (2)

[24] Ibid s. 7 (8)

[25] Ibid s. 11

[26] Ibid s. 7 (1)

[27] Ibid s. 7 (5)

[28] Ibid s. 7 (3)

[29] Ibid s. 7 (6)

[30] Ibid s. 7 (4)

[31] Ibid s. 8 (2)

[32] Ibid s. 12

[33] MacKenzie, D.S. "Report of the Deputy-Minister of Education" Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1910 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1911) pp. 11

[34] A.R., 1910, pp. 47

[35] A.R., 1910, pp. 60

[36] A.R., 1911, pp. 50 (J.A. Fife, Edmonton Inspectorate)

[37] A.R., 1911, pp. 64 (C. Sansom, High River Inspectorate)

[38] A.R., 1911, pp. 75 (J. Morgan, Macleod Inspectorate)

[39] A.R., 1911, pp. 57 (P.H. Thibadeau, Lacombe Inspectorate)

[40] Alberta, The Statute Law Amendment Act, 1911, 2 George V, C. 4 s. 38 Statutes of Alberta, 241-242

[41] Alberta, An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, and The Truancy Act, 1913 (Second Session), 4 George V, C. 16 s. 3 Statutes of Alberta, 79.

[42] Alberta, The Statute Law Amendment Act, 1911, 2 George V, C. 4 s. 5 (g) Statutes of Alberta.

[43] Alberta, An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, and The Truancy Act, 1913 (Second Session), 4 George V, C. 16 s. 3 Statutes of Alberta.

[44] Ibid

[45] *Ibid*

[46] *Ibid*

[47] *Ibid*

[48] *Ibid* s.1

[49] Alberta, *School Grants Act, 1913*, 4 George V, C. 15 *Statutes of Alberta*.

[50] MacKenzie, D.S. "Report of the Deputy-Minister of Education" *Annual Report, 1913*, pp. 16

[51] Alberta, *An Act to Amend the School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, and The Truancy Act, 1913 (Second Session)*, 4 George V, C. 16 s. 3 *Statutes of Alberta*.

[52] Alberta, *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and the Truancy Act, 1915*. 5 George V, C. 10 s. 3 *Statutes of Alberta*, 99.

[53] *Ibid*

[54] Alberta, *An Act to Amend the School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and The School Attendance Act, 1919*, 9 George V, C. 32 s. 4 *Statutes of Alberta*, 217.

[55] *Annual Report, 1915*, pp. 14

[56] Alberta, *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The Truancy Act, and The School Grants Act, 1916* 6 George V, C. 9 s. 3 *Statutes of Alberta*, 74.

[57] O'Brien, M.M. "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" *Annual Report, 1916*, pp. 106.

[58] Alberta, *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The Truancy Act, and The School Grants Act, 1916*, 6 George V, C. 9 s. 3 *Statutes of Alberta*.

[59] *Ibid*

[60] Alberta, *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and The School Attendance Act, 1918*, 8 George V. C. 39 s. 4 *Statutes of Alberta*, 261.

[61] Boyle, J.R. "Introduction by Minister" Annual Report, 1913, pp.12.

[62] Boyle, J.R. "Introduction by Minister" Annual Report, 1915, pp. 9.

[63] The Edmonton Bulletin, Thursday March 16, 1916.

[64] MacKenzie, D.S. "Report of the Deputy-Minister" Annual Report, 1916 pp. 12.

[65] photostat from the author's collection.

[66] McEachern, D.C. "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" Annual Report, 1918, pp. 98.

[67] A.R., 1921, pp. 100.

[68] A.R., 1920, pp. 72.

[69] A.R., 1922, pp. 82.

[70] A.R., 1913, pp. 12.

[71] O'Brien, M.M. "Report of the Provincial Truant Officer" A.R., 1913, pp. 55

[72] Alberta, An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The Truancy Act, and The School Grants Act, 1916, 6 George V, C.9 s.3 Statutes of Alberta, 74.

[73] O'Brien, M.M. "Report of the Chief Provincial Truant Officer" A.R., 1914, pp. 129.

[74] O'Brien, M.M. "Report of the Chief Provincial Truant Officer" A.R., 1916, pp. 106.

[75] Ibid pp. 106

[76] O'Brien, M.M. "Report of the Chief Provincial Truant Officer" A.R., 1915 pp. 142.

[77] photostats from author's collection

[78] McEachern, D.C. "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1921, pp. 101,

[79] Alberta, An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and The School Attendance Act, 1918, 8 George V C. 39 s. 4 Statutes of Alberta.

[80] Alberta, An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and The School Attendance Act, 1919, 9 George V, C. 32 s. 4 Statutes of Alberta.

[81] Alberta, An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and The School Attendance Act, 1918, 8 George V, C. 39 s. 4 Statutes of Alberta.

[82] data to be found in the "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" in the Annual Reports for 1921 and 1922.

[83] McEachern, D.C. "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1922, pp. 83.

[84] McEachern, D.C. "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1923, pp. 82.

[85] photostats from the author's collection.

[86] Goggin, D.J. "Report of the Superintendent of Education" Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1898 (Regina: Government Printer, 1899), pp. 11.

[87] MacKenzie, D.S. "Report of the Deputy-Minister" A.R., 1906, pp. 11.

[88] Anderson, J.T.M. The Education of the New Canadian (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1918) pp. 114.

[89] Fletcher, Robert "Report of the Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners" A.R., 1913, pp. 39.

[90] Philipps, Charles E. Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co. Ltd., 1957) pp. 231.

[91] Fletcher, Robert "Report of the Supervisor of Schools Among Foreigners" A.R., 1915, pp. 78.

[92] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Sixth Census of Canada, 1921 Vol. II (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1925) pp. 55.

[93] Thomas, L.G. The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 29.

[94] Ross, J.T. "Report of the Chief Inspector of Schools" A.R., 1914, pp. 25.

[95] Ross, J.T. "Report of the Deputy-Minister of Education" A.R., 1919, pp. 14.

[96] Williams, Owen (Lethbridge Inspectorate) - portion of a letter presented by the Hutterian Bretheran in their Brief submitted to the Committee of the Alberta Legislature appointed to examine Hutterian affairs in 1947. (pp. 75)

[97] Chalmers, J. Schools of the Foothills Province (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967) pp. 270 quoted in McCarthy, William C. "Indian Dropouts and Graduates in Northern Alberta". Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1971, pp. 3.

[98] Alberta, The Truancy Act, 1910 (Second Session) 1 George V, C.8 s.17, Statutes of Alberta.

[99] Unfortunately, there has been no systematic or centralized record kept of Magistrate Court cases in Alberta. However, the yearly "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" in the Annual Reports often summarized the number of cases and their disposition.

[100] McEachern, D.C. "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1922, pp. 82.

[101] Bargen, Peter F. The Legal Status of the Canadian Public School Pupil (Toronto: MacMillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1961) pp. 43.

[102] R. vs. Ulmer (1923) 1 Western Weekly Review 1, 19 Alberta Law Reports 12, pp. 1.

[103] McEachern, D.C. "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1922, pp. 82.

CHAPTER FIVE

LIVING WITHIN A COMFORTABLE FRAMEWORK: THE FULFILLMENT OF THE BUREAUCRATIC STAGE

(1924 - 1942)

Introduction

Whereas the period 1910-1923 was noteworthy for the alterations made to both legislation and bureaucratic procedures related to compulsory schooling in Alberta, the period 1924-1942 was characterized by a limited amount of change in both areas. Within the Department of Education particular satisfaction was being expressed about the efficiency of the system designed to regulate school attendance, the aspect of the schooling enterprise which was given a continual emphasis by the Department.

The 1920's and 1930's were decades of significant improvement in school attendance and in other factors related to the operation of schools. It is important to consider the nature of these improvements, the explanations offered by Department officials concerning the reasons for the gains, and to assess Departmental action once success had been achieved.

The Comfortable Framework

The evolution of legislation which began in 1910 with the enactment of the Truancy Act came to an end in 1919. No amendments to the compulsory attendance legislation occurred between 1919 and 1940. The Act was considered to be an acceptable document, working to the satisfaction of Department personnel in Edmonton and Inspectors in the field.

The yearly reports of inspectors often referred to the satisfaction with the legislation and the procedures it set down. For example, one inspector praised the effectiveness of the law, under which he felt that a warning notice was sufficient in most cases to improve attendance.[1] Many of the inspectors considered that the Attendance Branch was generally respected[2] and was working successfully to increase the percentage of attendance[3] and to protect the rights of the child of an indifferent parent.[4]

Along with the regulatory procedures made mandatory by the Act, other established practices were retained by the Attendance Branch as well. Together they composed a familiar structure of personnel and action. In the 1920's and 1930's the Branch continued to act as the centre of control for all attendance matters, with a continuing emphasis being put upon attendance in the rural areas.

At the start of the period under study there was ample reason to be concerned about rural schooling. Rural students were not having their educational needs met as readily as the~~ir~~ urban counterparts, as indicated in Table III.[5] Only about two-thirds of the number of rural students were at school between seven and nine months in 1921, whereas almost all urban students were at school for this length of time.

TABLE III:

Comparison of School Attendance in Alberta of Rural and Urban Students Ages Seven to Fourteen (1921)

	At School 1-3 months	At School 4-6 months	At School 7-9 months	Total
Rural Students	9.08%	21.04%	69.88%	100%
Urban Students	.82%	2.78%	96.40%	100%

Note: (1) The category "urban students" refers to students residing in communities with a population greater than 1,000 people.

(2) In 1921 there was an additional 11.37 per cent of the total population between the ages of seven and fourteen not attending school at all, of which 77% were rural children.

Data concerning the length of the school year also pointed out the difference between the urban and rural situation. In the 1921-1922 school year, for example, urban schools were open an average of 197.53 days while rural schools were open 176.22 days, more than twenty days less.[6]

The Departments' concern about rural attendance led to one administrative change in the enforcement system, the only alteration undertaken during the 1920's and 1930's. Rather than the Warning Notice being the first written communication sent out by the Branch to the erring rural parent, a Preliminary Letter constituted the initial notification, with a Warning Notice, an inspector's investigation, and finally prosecution by the inspector to follow in turn, if the previous action in the sequence did not achieve the desired result. The Preliminary Letter was introduced to educate the uninformed parent about the requirements of the Act[7] and, although it made the enforcement process even more cumbersome, the innovation remained in existence.

School Growth During the 1920's and 1930's

Compared to the earlier two decades of the twentieth century, in the 1920's and 1930's Alberta's total population increased much more slowly. In terms of number of school districts there was an even more modest increase and the school population realized a net loss by the end of the 1930's. This profile provided, for the schools, a period for consolidation after the hectic developments earlier in the century. The changes over the four decades are illustrated in Table IV.[8]

The improvement in factors related to the operation of schools and the attendance of children between 1905 and 1941 is illustrated in Table V.[9] By 1941 the average length of the school year was above 190 days and the percentage of attendance began to stabilize at ninety per cent. Both levels were considered by Department officials to be highly satisfactory.

TABLE IV:

GROWTH IN ALBERTA'S TOTAL POPULATION AND SCHOOL POPULATION

BY DECADE (1901-1941)

Year	No. of People Total Pop. (Alta.)	% Increase Last 10 Years	% Increase Last 10 Years (Dom. Ave.)	No. of People in School Population	% Increase Last 10 Years	No. of School Districts	% Increase Last 10 Years
1901	73,022	-	-	-	-	-	-
1911	374,663	413.1	34.1	61,660	-	1,778	-
1921	588,454	57.1	21.7	124,328	101.6	3,301	85.7
1931	731,605	24.3	18.1	168,730	35.7	3,755	13.8
1941	796,169	8.8	10.9	163,425	-3.1	4,005	6.7

TABLE V

IMPROVEMENTS IN FACTORS RELATED TO THE OPERATION OF SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN ALBERTA (1905-1941)

Year	No.of S.D.in Existence	No.of S.D.in Operation	No.of Rooms in Operation	Percentage of S.D.in Operation	Average Length of School Year	Average Monthly Percentage of Attendance
1905	602	476	628	79.07	174.4	-
1906	746	570	760	76.41	183.2	-
1907	902	694	945	76.94	159.6	-
1908	1,070	851	1,135	79.53	160.0	-
1909	1,250	970	1,323	77.60	163.2	-
1910	1,501	1,195	1,610	79.60	158.3	-
1911	1,784	1,392	1,902	77.93	157.0	-
1912	2,029	1,600	2,229	78.85	178.8	-
1913	2,235	1,705	2,511	71.81	178.3	-
1914	2,360	2,027	2,898	85.89	181.4	-
1915	2,478	2,138	3,082	86.36	181.5	-
1916	2,598	2,170	3,143	83.33	184.1	-
1917	2,773	2,471	3,497	89.11	182.5	-
1918	2,964	2,766	3,933	93.32	180.5	82.53
1919	3,106	2,796	4,128	90.02	180.2	82.51
1920	3,215	2,826	4,289	87.90	183.0	82.76
1921-22	3,367	2,861	4,485	85.27	187.7	85.61
1922-23	3,388	2,995	4,729	88.40	184.6	86.42
1923-24	3,409	3,034	4,742	89.00	184.7	87.25
1924-25	3,431	3,033	4,759	88.40	184.7	87.44

TABLE V CON'T

Year	No,of S.D.in Existence	No.of S.D.in Operation	No.of Rooms in Operation	Percentage of S.D.in Operation	Average Length of School Year	Average Monthly Percentage of Attendance
1925-26	3,463	3,041	4,803	87.91	187.6	86.56
1926-27	3,515	3,124	4,977	89.10	188.4	86.56
1927-28	3,571	3,202	5,148	89.66	184.6	87.36
1928-29	3,640	3,242	5,345	89.07	187.9	87.28
1929-30	3,720	3,314	5,558	89.13	190.2	89.35
1930-31	3,755	3,346	5,624	88.94	192.7	89.99
1931-32	3,788	3,395	5,729	89.44	195.0	90.02
1932-33	3,734	3,451	5,796	90.66	192.5	88.69
1933-34	3,766	3,428	5,782	91.02	192.7	90.18
1934-35	3,812	3,449	5,815	90.48	184.6	88.46
1935-36	3,859	3,492	5,873	90.49	178.8	87.15
1936-37	3,926	3,542	5,935	90.22	191.1	88.21
1937-38	3,978	3,591	6,034	90.27	196.1	89.50
1938-39	3,992	3,592	6,082	90.27	191.8	90.33
1939-40	4,008	3,596	6,160	89.55	193.2	90.24
1940-41	4,005	3,639	6,276	90.86	190.88	89.84

It should be noted that the increasing spread between the number of rooms and the number of school districts in operation indicated the growth of multi-room schools. This development was a factor in increasing the percentage of attendance, as instruction became more readily available to the older student.

The number of children being exposed to schooling reached and held a high level by 1941. Whereas in 1911 less than two-thirds of children between the ages of seven and fourteen were at school for any length of time, by 1941 almost ninety-five per cent of children in this age range were at school. The progression over time is illustrated in Table VI.[10]

TABLE VI:
ALBERTA'S CHILDREN, AGES SEVEN TO FOURTEEN, AT SCHOOL COMPARED TO TOTAL POPULATION, AGES SEVEN TO FOURTEEN
(BY DECADE, 1911-1941)

Year	Alberta Pop. Age 7-14 (incl)	No. at School for any period Age 7-14 (incl)	% at School for any period Age 7-14 (incl)
1911	54,928	34,527	62.9
1921	102,605	90,943	88.6
1931	128,740	122,068	94.8
1941	123,477	117,173	94.9

The disparity between conditions relative to town and city schools on the one hand and rural schools on the other began to narrow appreciably as well. In terms of the operation of schools, throughout the 1920's and 1930's town and city schools had been able to remain open for over 180 days during each school year. In the rural areas early in the period, schools were open for much shorter duration and finally, with the establishment of school divisions in the late 1930's, a condition similar to the towns and cities was achieved. Table VII documents the improvements realized.[11]

TABLE VII:

DAYS OF OPERATION OF RURAL SCHOOLS IN ALBERTA

(1925-1940)

Percentage of Total Rural Schools in Operation Each Year For:

Year	Less than 80 days	80-159 days	160-179 days	Over 180 days
1925*	6.7	23.4	13.3	56.6
1930	1.0	4.0	5.0	90.0
1935	0.4	3.4	6.2	90.0
1940	0.1	0.8	1.0	98.1

*Statistics not available in this form before 1925

Note: The abrupt change in percentages between 1925 and 1930 is attributable to the inception in 1927 of an additonal goverment grant to districts having low assessments. Whereas in 1926 only 75 per cent of all Alberta schools were open more than 160 days, in 1927 90 per cent were open more than 160 days.

There was a corresponding improvement made in the attendance of rural pupils compared to urban pupils. In 1921-22 there was a thirteen per cent difference in the relative percentages. By 1940-41 the difference had been reduced to slightly less than five per cent. The progression is shown in Table VIII.[12]

TABLE VIII:
AVERAGE ATTENDANCE AS A PERCENTAGE OF ENROLMENT
IN ALBERTA SCHOOLS BY DECADE (1921-1941)

Average Attendance as a Percentage of Total Enrolment

Year	In Graded Schools	In Ungraded Schools	Difference In Percentage
1921-22	76.44%	63.27%	13.17%
1930-31	84.16%	75.93%	8.23%
1940-41	85.21%	80.66%	4.55%

Note: (1) Graded Schools can be roughly equated with urban schools and Ungraded with rural schools.
(2) Average Attendance as a percentage of total enrolment is not as true a measure of attendance as average monthly attendance. For example, in the former method children who moved away early in a school year affected the percentage for the whole school year.

By 1940 a set of highly satisfactory standards of school functioning had been attained in Alberta. With these conditions in existence, school attendance came to be viewed with considerably less interest and concern. It had been a topical subject for decades, commanding on occasion an almost disproportional amount of attention. In the late

1930's and early 1940's it came to receive a minimal amount of attention. Such a shift in concern reflected a feeling, shared by Department of Education officials at least, that school attendance was no longer a problematic consideration. It is important to examine specific ways in which the decline in attention and concern about school attendance was evident.

A Decline in the Reporting About Attendance

The Annual Reports of the Department of Education were designed to relate the significant happenings concerning public schooling during the year in question. It seems reasonable to assume that items considered by Department personnel to be of greater educational importance would be given more prominence in the document than items of lesser importance. As the 1930's progressed, the subject of school attendance received considerably less attention in the Annual Reports, a development which signified a declining concern about school attendance.

The movement from greater to lesser importance can be illustrated by reference to changes in two categories of the Annual Reports:

(1) Inspectors' Reports: Between 1919 and 1923, when George Gorman was Chief Inspector of Schools, his annual report contained special sections entitled "School Attendance" and "Operation of Schools". In these sections

Gorman would mention important developments and issues pertaining to each during the year just completed. As well he would include quotations from the reports of individual Inspectors which were pertinent to either topic. There were important things to be said about school attendance and the operation of schools and this fact likely determined the reporting format which permitted a focus upon each.

Before 1919, when there was no Chief Inspector and often no rigid reporting format, these matters were given a great deal of attention in the reports of individual inspectors. After 1933 in the Annual Reports one notes a gradual decrease in prominence given to the subject of attendance. In the 1934 and 1935 Annual Reports it was included in the general category "The Schools: Organization, Operation and Attendance". Beginning in 1936 it became almost unrecognizeable within the category "Factors Affecting Operation and Financing of Schools" and receives little comment from either the Chief Inspector of Inspectors in the field.

(2) The Report of the Chief Attendance Officer: The Report of the Chief Attendance Officer was an important and distinct section of the Annual Reports for many years. It began being included in 1913, with the appointment that year of the first Chief Attendance Officer, and continued as a regular entry until it was discontinued after the 1939

Annual Report.

The Report contained valuable statistics relating to the enforcement of the Act as well as behind-the-scenes documentation and comment. From 1924 to 1939 the Report also included information about school operation throughout the province, an alteration indicating a growing recognition by the Department of the close connection between attendance and factors relating to school operation. In fact, beginning in 1924, the Chief Attendance Officer had been given the task of collating data concerning the operation of schools.[13]

By the late 1930's the enforcement process was dealing with a greatly reduced number of families and a level of attendance had been attained which was considered to be satisfactory. These conditions were reflected in the brevity of the Report of the Chief Attendance Officer. After 1939 the Report was discontinued in the *Annual Reports*, with not even an indication of its termination or a reason for its removal. Both omissions can be interpreted as a reflection of the relatively low importance that had come to be attached to school attendance.

Changes in Legislation

Between 1919 and 1940 no amendments to the *School Attendance Act* were brought before the Legislature.

Amendments were presented and approved in 1941 which were designed mainly to make the wording of the legislation compatible with the operation of the new school divisions. However, additional slight alterations indicated an important change in the thinking of Department officials regarding the function of the enforcement process.

Until 1941 the teacher or principal of every school was required to report weekly to the Attendance Officer of his area the relevant data concerning non-attenders. For the rural teacher this meant weekly reports to the Chief Attendance Officer in Edmonton. In the 1941 amendment the phrase "once in each week" was replaced by the phrase "as required by the board or by the Minister."[14] The alteration indicated a desire to terminate the centralized monitoring and control of the enforcement of school attendance in Alberta. The new wording ensured a continuing right to demand frequent reports but the chosen phrase "as required" was really a way of reserving the authority to obtain attendance information only if unique circumstances warranted an investigation. In the day-to-day operation of schools the reporting requirement was set aside.

A further amendment in 1941 contained a brief but potent substitution of one word for another. The 'shall clause' relating to the appointment of attendance officers in towns and cities now became a 'may clause'.

A mandatory requirement of law had become a matter for discretionary judgment at the local level, as it had been before 1910.

In the rural areas of Alberta the legislation had always provided optionality and continued to do so. It was optionality in the sense that, as the legislation stated: "The Minister may from time to time appoint such attendance officer or officers as may be required for the enforcement of this Act in districts that are not included within any city of town school district."[16] Even though the clause was treated as mandatory in actual staffing practices, the priority given enforcement continued to depend upon the work demands placed upon each Inspector and the importance each man attached to attendance matters. In the context of this variability it can be said that enforcement in the rural areas tended to be optional rather than compulsory.

In the late 1930's and early 1940's the tasks relate to establishing divisions and ensuring their effective operation made it particularly difficult for the Inspectors to give much attention to attendance problems. The absence of a mandatory reporting system made it difficult to draw upon systematized data relating to attendance. However, the presence of positive conditions for attendance through the school division system minimized the level of concern.

The legislative action undertaken in 1941 to terminate the sophisticated system of monitoring attendance

attendance and to remove the mandatory clauses pertaining to the hiring of enforcement personnel were purposeful acts. They signalled a desire of the Department of Education to de-emphasize the need for enforcement of school attendance, not only in terms of the centralized control which it administered but as a general fact as well.

A Pride in Statistics

Even though there was a decline in reporting about attendance, there was no decline in the statistical interest in the subject. Beginning in the early 1920's sophisticated tables and charts relating directly or indirectly to attendance became regular entries in the Annual Reports. This data continued throughout the period of lessening interest in the subject. For example, the yearly percentage of average attendance and the average length of school operation were carefully charted each year. The interest in these statistics was substantial. Improvements in either usually triggered an explanatory comment and slippage brought about a speedy explanation.

Late in the 1930's and early in the 1940's the Annual Reports gave especially prominent notice to statistics relating to improvements in attendance and the operation of schools. Upon perusal of these notations one senses a degree of self-congratulation by Department officials concerning these achievements.

In the 1939 Annual Report, Deputy-Minister McNally notes that "the average monthly attendance reached the highest point in the history of the Province, viz. 90.33 per cent." Additionally he pointed to the fact that 99.3 per cent of all schools in the province were open for more than 160 days and the great majority for more than 190 days.[17]

In the 1942 Annual Report he notes glowingly that "the average monthly percentage of attendance rose to 91.62, the highest in the history of the Province." In terms of school operation it is noted that 99.6 per cent of the schools operated for at least 160 days in the school year.[18]

Often these statistics were mentioned in the context of the growth of school divisions as part of an ongoing attempt to quantify the benefits of the reform and to justify the reform to an often-skeptical public.

The author maintains that the statistics served another purpose as well. They tended to justify the dismantling of the machinery for enforcement since they pointed to both the attainment of a highly satisfactory level of attendance and to conditions supporting the maintenance of attendance at that level.

The Illusion of Victory

The statistics, upon closer analysis, were not the reliable touchstones which they were held up to be. For example, the Chief Attendance Officer explained that the 90.33 per cent attendance figure of 1939 could be accounted for by the use of transfer cards.[19] In other words, the increase was due to more efficient accounting of attendance rather than an increased utilization of the schools.

Further unreliability became apparent when the figures attained in 1942 did not remain at the same high level. For example, the average monthly attendance fell from 91.62 per cent to 88.29 per cent in 1942-43, then recovered slightly to 89.36 per cent in 1943-44. The percentage of schools operating over 160 days decreased from 99.6 to 97.1 in 1942-43, then increased marginally to 98.4 in 1943-44. The average length of the school year vacillated between 190.9 days in 1940-41 and 179.9 in 1941-42 and between 191.9 days in 1942-43 and 184.9 in 1943-44.

The causes were varied. A polio epidemic forced closure of schools in September, 1942. A shortage of farm labour in 1943 prompted an alteration in the school year and the diversion of a number of older students into harvest activity on the farms. However, the main factor throughout most of the war years was a critical teacher shortage.

The profile of school attendance and school operation statistics again reflected the powerful influence of external factors in determining the outcome in these areas. Even a sweeping reform of school organization could not ensure immunity from the effects of these forces.

Conclusion

The decline in interest and concern about school attendance during the late 1930's was observable at different levels of decision-making and action in relation to schooling in Alberta. By the end of the decade there appeared to be a broad consensus within the Department of Education that the supportive conditions for the steady operation of schools and the regular attendance of pupils had been assured through the establishment of school divisions. The dismantling of the elaborate centralized system of monitoring and enforcing attendance followed logically. The shift in emphasis away from enforcement towards the maintenance of enabling structures was admirable but naive, to the extent that officials felt that the new arrangement would eliminate attendance problems. The wartime experience in the early 1940's as it impinged upon the schools, was a forceful reminder of a continuing vulnerability of schooling as a social activity.

The set-backs which occurred during World-War II were only temporary reversals of high standards attained slowly but surely over a number of years. The factors which were the prime contributors to these improvements in schooling deserve analysis, a task which becomes the focal point of the next chapter.

Footnotes - Chapter Five

[1] Alberta, Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1924 (Edmonton: Government Printer, 1925) pp. 90 (un-named Inspector)

[2] A.R., 1922, pp. 83 (un-named Inspector)

[3] A.R., 1919, pp. 65 (Inspector Robertson, Leduc)

[4] A.R., 1925, pp. 86 (un-named Inspector)

[5] derived from raw figures presented in Sixth Census of Canada, 1921 Vol. II (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1925) pp. 738.

[6] A.R., 1922, pp. 99.

[7] "Report of the Chief Inspector of Schools" A.R., 1920, pp. 67.

[8] total population data was derived from Canada Census publications for each of the given years: school population data was obtained from Annual Report, 1941 pp. 119.

[9] A.R., 1941, pp. 111.

[10] source: Canada Census for the given years

[11] source: Annual Reports for the given years (tables created from miscellaneous data)

[12] Ibid

[13] A.R., 1924, pp. 90.

[14] Alberta, The School Attendance Act Amendment Act, 1941, 5 George VI, C.36 s.7, Statutes of Alberta, 195.

[15] Ibid s.5 (a), 194.

[16] Alberta, The Truancy Act, 1910 (Second Session), 1 George V, C.8 s.7 (2), Statutes of Alberta.

[17] A.R., 1939, pp. 9.

[18] A.R., 1942, pp. 9.

[19] A.R., 1939, pp. 78

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS: THE FACTORS AFFECTING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

Introduction

During the 1920's and 1930's factors relating to school attendance and the operation of Alberta's schools had improved greatly. By 1940 Department of Education officials could point to an average length of school year above 190 days throughout the province and a percentage of average attendance above 90 per cent. In relation to these achievements and with particular reference to gains in school attendance it is important to give consideration to the cause of the improvements.

There were many variables affecting school attendance. To consider the probable impact of these factors upon attendance the characteristics of each must be examined. The author first directs his attention to the enforcement process, considered by many to be the main cause of improved levels of attendance:

THE ENFORCEMENT PROCESS

A. The Impotence of Enforcement

Just as the desire to attend school faced numerous constraints, so did efforts directed toward effective enforcement of attendance. These constraints were internal in nature, related to the inner workings of the enforcement process. An analysis of these inhibiting factors leads to a realization that the cause and effect relationship between enforcement and levels of attendance was, at best, tenuous.

1. Exemptions in Legislation

A cursory glance at the School Attendance Act, particularly the sections dealing with enforcement procedures leading up to and including prosecution, would suggest that the Act was a strongly-worded document, setting the stage for firm action. However, the provision of generous grounds for exemption from attendance drastically altered the document's effectiveness. These qualifying clauses reflect an appreciation by government of the physical realities and constraints with which a social enterprise such as schooling had to contend. The wording of the clauses indicates that the legislation was flexible and considerate rather than rigid and uncompromising.

In the Act absence from school could be justified on grounds such as the following: sickness or other unavoidable cause, efficient instruction being offered at home or elsewhere, a child's residence being too far from the nearest school, insufficient accommodation available in the nearest school, proficiency beyond the level offered at the school, or the demands of husbandry, necessary household duties or the care of siblings. As a result of the many ways in which non-attendance could be justified, enforcement activity was characterized typically by a greatly reduced number of prosecutions compared to the number of initial investigations.

2. Scope for Subjective Judgment

The grounds for exemption gave scope for subjective judgments as well, on the part of the teacher, Attendance Branch official, Inspector or Attendance Officer, and Magistrate. This study has given indication of empathetic action on the part of many of the personnel involved in the enforcement process. Further evidence can be gleaned from a statement by the Chief Attendance Officer in 1922:

> Of the 416 cases it was deemed unwise to take action in a considerable number of the cases owing to the fact that the inspectors found on investigation that the economic conditions prevailing were the causes of the inability of the parents to provide for the regular attendance of their children in school.[1]

In the field, the school inspectors usually brought to bear a significant degree of understanding as well, when deciding whether or not to prosecute. Many reports of individual inspectors reflect a reluctance to prosecute in those cases where financial reasons were the main cause of non-attendance.[2,3] An appreciation of the importance of adequate farm labour during seed time and harvest was listed as the reason for withholding prosecution in a number of cases as well.[4] One inspector acknowledged that he saw his attendance work to be " ... largely of a missionary nature" rather than relying heavily upon enforcement and prosecution.[5]

3. Bureaucratic Inefficiencies

As already indicated, bureaucratic procedures developed to improve efficiency often were the cause of inefficiency because they relied upon accurate data from the field. However, the information received was often both incomplete and inaccurate. The following excerpt from the Report of the Chief Attendance Officer in 1920 states the case clearly:

> In a very large number of cases teachers did not report back to the Department promptly at the expiration of the 10 days from receipt of notice of preliminary letters being forwarded, thus necessitating in very many cases a second, third and sometimes a fourth letter from the Attendance Branch before the information was received. By this time the work for which the children were detained was completed and the children had returned to school. ... What has already been said of teachers ... would appear to apply in the case of many of our inspectors as well ... Because of this delay on the part of teachers and inspectors it has been necessary throughout the year to keep one stenographer constantly reminding teachers and inspectors of the necessity of forwarding reports following the receipt of these requests to them and in spite of this fact, our information at the end of the year was only partially complete.6

The frustrations expressed in McEachern's report in 1920 continued to plague him throughout the 1920's and 1930's. For example, in 1926 he noted that in 228 attendance cases reports had not been received from teachers, largely because of termination of employment with their board.[7] McEachern's report in 1928 indicates that 406 cases were referred to the inspectors for action and by year end reports had not been received in 282 of the cases.[8] Similarly in 1935, out of fifty-eight cases reports had not been received in forty cases.[9]

The Attendance Branch had been designed to be the centre of control for attendance matters pertaining to all Alberta schools, working in direct management of village and rural schools and indirectly with those of the towns and cities. It was obvious that the efficiency of the Branch was suffering from the decision to establish and maintain a highly centralized model of control. The impact upon the effectiveness of enforcement was equally obvious.

One further bureaucratic problem can be noted. The Branch insisted upon using school census and school register data as the documents upon which monitoring of attendance was to be based. However, these documents contained names of only those children who had been enrolled in school and not those who had refrained from attending school. Canada Census information, indicated the presence of a significant number of children in this latter category.[10] For example, the 1911 Census indicated that 20,401 children between the ages of seven and fourteen were not in school for any period of time. This represented 37.1 per cent of the total number of children in that category. Over time the percentage decreased steadily, to 11.6 in 1921, to 5.2 in 1931, and to 5.1 in 1941. However, even the 1941 figure still represented 6,304 children. Ironically, the continual absence of these unschooled children was somewhat of a guarantee of immunity from being forced to attend, since they were non-entities as far as school records were concerned. Only when their status was detected could an enforcement process begin. As a further matter of irony, it was those who voluntarily attended, at least long enough to become listed on school records, who became subject to compulsion to attend.

4. Inspectors' Workload

The attention a school inspector could give to school attendance matters was directly related to the total demands upon his time. His duties as the Department of Education's representative in the field were extensive, including such duties as the inspection of schools, the supervision of instruction, assisting in in-service activities for teachers, organizing new districts, assisting with school district administration, ensuring the regular operation of schools and the attendance of all children of school age, and functioning as an Official Trustee when necessary.[11]

As indicated, the enforcement of the School Attendance Act was only one of the many duties. His actions in regard to this sphere of activity could be considered as twofold:

(1) Preventive: Through his regular inspection he could assist in the development of positive conditions and effective procedures to encourage regular attendance. Any students beginning to exhibit attendance problems could be dealt with at this early stage.

(2) Enforcement: As the attendance officer in his inspectorate he would make investigations of those family situations which were still problematic, after the work of sending preliminary letters and warning notices had been done by the Attendance Branch. If prosecution was deemed appropriate he would be the agent to lay the charge on behalf of the Crown.

A pivotal factor for effective attendance work was the size of each inspectorate. Between 1918 and 1920 a purposeful effort was made to establish a more reasonable size of territory for each inspector. Whereas in 1918 each of twenty-five inspectors was responsible for an average of 149 classrooms, by 1920 there were forty inspectors overseeing an average of 111 classrooms per inspectorate.

In his 1920 report, Chief Inspector Gorman spoke about the great improvements brought about by the adjustment in size of the inspectorates.[12] Not only would the change allow inspectors to gain a more intimate knowledge of problems in his territory, Gorman maintained, but action could now be taken without long delays. The goal of two inspections of each classroom per year was now possible to attain.

However, the more desirable ratio did not continue. The economic recession of the early 1920's resulted, in 1923, in "a drastic reduction of government services, a cut which the Department of Education did not escape."[13] The staff of school inspectors was cut from forty to twenty-five, with a corresponding increase in both the area of the Inspectorates and the number of schools for which each man was responsible.

The change forced a priorizing of functions and as a result the enforcement of school attendance received less attention. Gorman explained it this way:

> It has been found necessary to confine our efforts more strictly to the work of actual inspection of schools ... It has not been possible to deal as promptly and effectively, as formerly, with many other scarcely less significant problems associated with the educational work of the Province. These latter have to do, for example, with school attendance, school financing, local disputes, close supervision of schools among the non-English and official trusteeships.[14]

The possibility of each school receiving two inspections per year was no longer realistic nor was it to be for a decade. Inspector's field conditions remained virtually unchanged until school reorganization occurred in 1936. During the period of reduced staffing, inspections averaged only slightly more than one per classroom per year. Essentially, it meant a return to the pre-1919 days.

Within this context, activities undertaken by school inspectors concerning school attendance were severely hampered, making it difficult to achieve a level of effective action.

The shifts over three decades which occurred in the conditions affecting the inspector's work are illustrated in Table IX.[15]

B. The Preventive Function of Enforcement

Preventive activity concerning attendance can be viewed at different levels. First, it can be considered as part of a general educational enterprise geared to instilling the value of schooling and the desirability of regular attendance. Activities undertaken by enforcement personnel and others to outline the requirements of compulsory attendance legislation can be considered within this category. Similarly the required duties performed by the classroom teacher in terms of monitoring closely and reporting frequently upon the attendance of her pupils were preventive in nature, at least in the sense of highlighting, for the sake of students and parents, the need for regular attendance.

Secondly, preventive activity can be observed from the perspective of it being a by-product of the enforcement process. In this sense one focuses upon the effect on students and their parents who are bystanders to the process and who have never been involved in a

TABLE IX:

FACTORS RELATED TO SCHOOL INSPECTION IN ALBERTA (1914-1934)

Year	Number of Inspectors	Ave. No. of School Districts per Inspectorate	Ave. No. of Classrooms per Inspectorate	Ave. No. of Inspections per Inspector per year
1914	19	- *	152	- *
1915	21	-	161	-
1918	25	-	149	-
1919	36	-	114	-
1920	40	-	111	-
1922	40	-	112	-
1923	25	-	165	-
1927	27	134	173	192
1929	28	133	165	169
1931	29	131	171	194
1934	27	132	171	182

*Information not available

situation which required the attention of enforcement personnel. Where this preventive influence was in existence, students and their parents fostered regular attendance for reasons such as respect for the law or the fear of being caught.

However, the enforcement process itself, as will be noted later, involved a very small percentage of families and therefore it yielded a reduced preventive benefit simply on the basis of numbers. Of more importance was the 'visibility' of town and city attendance officers, perhaps leading to a firm identification by the public of man with functions. The clarity of image conjured up by mention of the name "truant officer" tended to support an effective identification. In the rural areas also the Inspector's style of operation in attendance matters was an important variable in this respect.

At a third level, preventive activity can be considered as a part of the enforcement process itself, wherein intervention early in the process headed off further difficulty. Philosophically, the Attendance Branch put a great deal of stress upon this type of involvement.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to evaluate the extent of the influence of any preventive activity. It could be argued, that, the preventive role of the enforcement process, particularly as exemplified in the second sense in which the author has used the term, had more influence upon attendance than the enforcement process itself.

OTHER VARIABLES AFFECTING ATTENDANCE

Whereas the enforcement process had a tenuous status as a determinant of attendance levels during the 1920's and 1930's, there were other factors which influenced school attendance and the operation of schools. Whether the impact of a particular factor, for example, the number and quality of teachers, was beneficial or harmful, and the extent to which this occurred, depended upon its characteristics at the time in question. Regardless of these qualifying circumstances, variables such as the following had considerable significance in relation to school attendance and the operation of schools:

A. Attendance and Economic Circumstances

A comment made by George Gorman, the Chief Inspector of Schools during much of the 1920's and 1930's, indicates his perception of the connection between economic factors and the state of the schools at a given time:

> Our schools and our progress in educational affairs generally reflect closely the economic conditions prevailing in the province.[16]

Documentation in the Annual Reports which pertains to the relationship between economic factors and school attendance, as a specific aspect of school affairs, deals mainly with the impact of negative economic conditions.

For example, during the recession of the early 1920's the Chief Attendance Officer indicated that the replies received following the issuance of Preliminary Letters and Warning Notices reflected a considerable degree of poverty in the province, causing a number of children to be absent from school because of inadequate clothing or insufficient food for school lunches.[17] During the Depression the problem of inadequate clothing was often mentioned as the reason for poor attendance,[18] as well as the necessity to involve older children in farm labour since many parents could not afford to hire farm help.[19,20]

Enforcement had to come to grips with these harsh and powerful economic realities. Fortunately, a power struggle between rigid enforcement and life-support activities did not take place. Legislation acknowledged the necessity of periodic absence for essential farm work. It also provided flexibility in reference to the effects upon people of poor economic conditions. In his investigations the Inspector's approach to enforcement followed in the same spirit of flexibility.

The power of economic forces was further evident when one noted students staying in school longer because of the absence of employment opportunities. Chalmers notes the increase in numbers of students in grade IX to XII changing from 6.74 per cent of the province's school population in 1920 to 9.96 per cent in 1925 as being, in large measure, a function of the stringent economic circumstances of the time.[21] He also notes a fifty per cent increase in high school enrolment between 1930 and 1934.[22]

B. Attendance Under Pioneer Conditions

There was a variety of factors related to pioneer conditions in rural Alberta which acted as additional barriers to regular attendance. As with economic constraints, it would have been unfortunate to force attendance when these conditions made attendance almost impossible.

This study has already alluded to the power of these factors. Just as their presence would be an inhibition to regular attendance, their removal would help permit regular attendance. There was a diversity of possible constraints associated with pioneer conditions. For example, one inspector's report in 1925 referred to heavily drifted roads which became almost impassable in Spring as the cause of poor attendance.[23] A report in 1929 mentions the closure of a number of rural schools for one or two months because of severe winter weather.[24] An epidemic of infantile paralysis in 1927 is noted as the reason for the closure of many schools and poor attendance in others.[25] In another report, the shortage of justices of the peace in rural districts was cited as a barrier to effective enforcement of attendance.[26]

C. Attendance and Government Grants for Schooling

Local funds had never been able to manage the full costs of schooling. In recognition of this condition there had always been a provincial contribution toward the total expenditures at the local level.

Until 1913 school attendance was recognized in a specific grant. After 1913 grants were not related directly to attendance but indirectly, in two special ways: (1) to help maintain basic school operations and (2) to support and encourage improvements in the quality of education. Space does not permit an elaboration of all of the grants instituted after 1913. Brief examples can be cited, however, for each of the two ways in which grants were functional:

(1) Grants helped maintain basic school operation: In 1926 the School Grants Act was amended to provide a special grant to low assessment areas of the province so that they might keep their schools operating for the desired minimum of 160 days.[27] When the Depression began, this "equalization grant" became a vital source of funds for many school districts. Deputy-Minister Ross, in his 1913 report, stated it clearly:

> This equalization grant .... made it possible for a very large number of school districts to continue in operation in the face of adverse conditions prevailing throughout the year. Likewise, this grant has been the important factor in extending the period of operation of schools particularly in districts passing through the pioneer stage.[28]

(2) Grants supported and encouraged improvements in the quality of education: (a) The School Grants Act of 1913 provided grants for non-academic fields of instruction, for example, for agriculture and school gardening in rural schools and for manual arts, domestic science, art, music and physical culture in urban schools.[29] (b) An amendment in 1919 provided a special grant to rural schools which opened a senior room.[30] In both of these cases attempts were being made to adapt instruction to the needs of the older pupil, thereby encouraging schooling beyond a basic level.

D. Attendance and School District Re-Organization

As early as the Territorial period grants from government had been established to support new innovations in school organization and to encourage more efforts of this type. In 1890, for example, special funding was made available for separate high school rooms.[31] In 1901 a conveyance grant was established to assist two or more districts which had agreed to operate a common school.[32]

As provincehood was attained and the new province developed, it became increasingly evident that the small school district as an administrative unit was not adequately meeting the needs of young Albertans. In 1913 the provincial government passed legislation encouraging the establishment of consolidated schools as a means of alleviating the problem. Further legislation in 1921 allowed consolidation for high school purposes only.

The consolidated school had many benefits. It was often able to provide a greater variety of courses than what the rural school could offer. Teachers could begin to become subject specialists. Consolidated high schools enabled many students to obtain a high school education which otherwise would not have been possible.[33]

Although the idea held great promise and sixty-three consolidations took place by 1920, there was little further progress until 1938 when, in the face of school division formation, there was a rapid decline.[34]

With the limited success of the consolidation movement the problem of school organization remained a topical concern, particularly in relation to the desire for high school facilities. In 1927 Chief Inspector Gorman spoke of the need for change:

> I do not see that we are going to reach any satisfactory solution of this problem of High School instruction for all until we evolve a change in our type of unit of school administration.35

Perren Baker, the Minister of Education in the U.F.A. government, took the initiative in 1929 to propose a radical revision of the rural school system. In the "Baker Bill" twenty large divisions were to be established in the province, each containing 150 school districts. An equalized educational tax was to be applied over the whole province so as to provide a similar level of educational opportunity in each area of the province. The Bill encountered strong opposition in the Legislature and therefore was withdrawn before third reading.

A revised Bill was presented in 1930. It modified the general taxation provision and let formation of the divisions depend upon a vote of the electorate rather than being at the discretion of the Minister. However, it also met with vigorous opposition and was withdrawn. Subsequent attempts at re-organization were delayed until 1936, with the exception of the establishment of two larger units on an experimental basis, Turner Valley in 1928 and Berry Creek in 1933.[36]

The Social Credit party also supported the need for re-organization. When it assumed power in 1935 it used the generalized mandate afforded by the electorate as a rationale for instituting change in the organization of the province's schools.

The new legislation approved in 1936 gave the Minister authority to establish the divisions, with each to consist of a grouping of rural districts which were considered to compose a functional unit. On the average, between sixty and eighty districts became amalgamated in each division.[37] Village, town and consolidated districts were not included, although provision was made for them to enter later by agreement. By the end of 1940 Deputy-Minister McNally could report that Alberta had all of its rural schools, with the exception of 180, in school divisions.[38]

In a document entitled "After Three Years", published by the Department of Education in the same year, the advantages resulting from the division system were listed. Four are of particular significance for this study. First, improved attendance was cited as an advantage, for which "the better operation of schools and the increased stimulus given to education under the divisional system was very largely responsible". Secondly, an increased length of school year was mentioned and statistics were presented in an attempt to substantiate how school divisions had improved this aspect of school functioning. Thirdly, an improvement in the provision for high school instruction was cited, through cooperative efforts with villages, towns or cities in or near the division or in offering correspondence courses, both of which were paid for from division funds. Fourthly, a maximum use of schools was listed as an advantage. In this respect it was argued that schools could be strategically positioned to equalize the distances pupils had to travel.

In his 1941 report Deputy-Minister McNally presented a table of data pertaining to school utilization which indicated Alberta's achievements when compared to other provinces.[39] The researcher who assembled the data is quoted as expressing surprise that Alberta led the list but cited the school division system as the probably reason. The information is reproduced in Table X.

TABLE X

EFFECTIVE EDUCATIONAL COVERAGE IN CANADA 1940

(School Enrolment as a Percentage
of Child Population Age 5-17)

Alberta	77	British Columbia	70
Nova Scotia	75	Prince Edward Island	70
Saskatchewan	75	Quebec	(63) 70
Ontario	73	Manitoba	69
New Brunswick	71		

School district re-organization had beneficial effects upon attendance. Where it did not take place it left school attendance vulnerable to a variety of constraints associated with rural schooling. The achievements brought about by the school division, in particular, were considerable and they served to substantiate the link between positive conditions for attendance and the actual attendance which was realized.

E. Attendance and Teacher Supply

Attendance at given periods was subject to two aspects of teacher supply: quantity and quality.

Chalmers notes how World War I seriously affected the supply of teachers, especially for rural schools.[40] Not only did a number of men and women leave teaching to join the war effort but many were diverted from possible teaching careers because of the War. The War also caused a decrease in the supply of teachers from Britain and other countries. As a result some schools had to close. However, most remained open with many being taught by poorly qualified teachers, permitted by the Department of Education in the face of an otherwise critical shortage of teachers.

The enthusiasm of students and their parents for schooling was adversely affected by the lowered quality of instruction. School authorities were aware of the problem. For example, Inspector Dwyer, in his 1917 report, criticized the permit teachers who did not plan to continue teaching and those who "took little interest in their work, made no effort to improve and practically wasted the money of the district and the time of the pupils".[41]

In the 1930's a distinctly different experience was encountered when there was a surplus of teachers. In 1932, for example, it was estimated that there were 1,000 unemployed teachers.[42] Teacher recruitment was not a problem nor was there as much of a problem in obtaining a formally qualified teacher.

However, the rural scene was seldom as attractive a school setting as the urban one. Regardless of the 'teacher market' situation, rural school boards had difficulty in hiring highly qualified teachers, many of whom were reluctant to deal with a perceived social isolation, the sometimes crude accomodation, the multiple grades, and the uncertain job security existing in many rural areas. The towns and cities of Alberta offered a much more desirable set of employment conditions.

For the rural student particularly, the dynamics of teacher supply had a bearing on attendance. A school which was closed because of the lack of a teacher obviously could not be attended and to attend regularly at one which operated sporadically or which suffered from either a frequent change of teacher or poor instruction was not an enticing challenge, to say the least.

F. Attendance and Provision for Special Needs of Children

The requirement that children attend school was not only a demand placed upon the child and his family but also upon the government, in the sense that it required that schools be provided. In the particular situation of children with special needs, the government's obligation took on a unique meaning.

A clause in the compulsory attendance legislation which was in force in territorial times allowed for the exemption of a child whose "bodily or mental condition has been such as to prevent his or her attendance at School or application to study for the period required."[43] Alberta's compulsory attendance legislation of 1910 removed these specific grounds for exemption. However, exemption for such conditions could be covered under general clauses such as 5(b) which referred to "sickness or other unavoidable cause".

It is commendable that the government in either period did not try to use these provisions in legislation as a way of rationalizing an unwillingness to provide schooling for children with special needs. As an example of positive action, the Territorial government for a number of years provided for the education of deaf mutes at the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb in Winnipeg. The cost to the child's parents was minimal.[44] After 1905, the Province continued the practice. The 1923 Annual Report lists the cost of tuition and transportation of deaf and blind children attending a variety of institutions in other provinces. A further statement indicates the sincere attempt on the part of the government to provide for their needs: "It is a matter of regret that it was impossible to find places for four beginners last September."[45]

The 1923 Annual Report also mentions grants, available in the amount of one-half of the teacher's salary, for special classes set up to instruct "children of sufficiently serious mental defect as to render it impossible for them to keep pace with their normal fellows."[46] In 1930 the first sight-saving class in Alberta was established and was given a grant for its operation.[47]

The government's Correspondence Branch can also be considered within the category of providing for special needs of children. The Annual Report of 1925 refers to the rapid growth of the program, which had been initiated in the previous autumn.[48] More than 700 students had been enrolled. Many were from territory which was not organized into school districts; others lived in districts where schools did not operate for the entire school year.

The Correspondence Branch proved to be a valuable agent in the equalization of educational opportunities. Besides providing instruction in sections of the province where no schools were available, the Branch helped enrich the programs in smaller schools by supplementing its course offerings. The benefit to Alberta students with these types of special needs was obvious.

THE DESIRE FOR SCHOOLING

The power exerted by the variables which had an impact upon school attendance and the operation of schools illustrated the vulnerability of schooling as a social enterprise. The author maintains that behind the interplay of these factors resided a desire for schooling, shared by the vast majority of Albertans. It gained expression in terms of the regular attendance of pupils, and the steady operation of schools, to the extent permitted by the removal of constraints and the presence of positive conditions for the attainment of both. It also serves as a more plausible explanation of improvements in attendance than does the enforcement process. Evidence of the presence of a desire for schooling can be demonstrated be reference to the following spheres of educational activity:

A. Evidence From the Voluntary Erection of Schools

This study has already noted an expressed desire for the erection of schools soon after immigrants settled new areas of the province. Various governmental officials, particularly the Inspectors in the field, commented upon the great interest in schooling. Even when legislation concerning the compulsory erection of school districts was introduced, mention was made of its necessity for only a few situations.

In some non-English areas a degree of initial reluctance to erect schools was evident, often because of lack of knowledge of procedures or because of communication difficulties. Once established, however, schools functioned to the extent that conditions permitted, reflecting a belief in the opportunities afforded through schooling.

B. Evidence From Voluntary Attendance

Table XI exhibits the generalized nature of the desire for schooling, by indicating the voluntary utilization of schools. It relates enrolment of children of all ages to the enrolment of children in the age bracket for which attendance was made compulsory.[49] If schooling was accorded little importance, it is reasonable to assume that students would attend only when required by law, and even then probably not very regularly. This was not the case. Many children were beginning school before age seven and many were staying beyond age fourteen.

TABLE XI:

ATTENDANCE OF ALBERTA PUPILS OF ALL AGES
COMPARED TO PUPILS OF COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE AGES,
BY DECADE (1921-1941)

Year	School Enrolment Age 7-14 incl.	School Enrolment All Ages	Percentage Difference In Totals
1921	100,731	124,328	23.43
1931	130,681	168,730	29.12
1941	122,436	163,425	33.47

The increasing percentage of utilization from decade to decade is related to at least two factors: an improving accessibility of schools, in other words a continuing removal of constraints affecting attendance; and an increasing interest in and provision for longer periods of schooling per child.

Beginning in 1915 a young Albertan could leave school once he became fifteen years of age. Again, if schooling was not a valued activity one would expect a great exodus from school by students of this age. This was not the case.

In 1919 the Annual Reports began to include interesting statistics under the general heading "Pupils Leaving School at Age 15". Table XII is based upon this data and a perusal of it allows us to study the extent of the exodus.

TABLE XII:

DATA RELATED TO ALBERTA PUPILS LEAVING SCHOOL AT AGE FIFTEEN (1920-1940)

Year	% of Total Enrolment Leaving School at Age 15	% of Age 15 Enrolment Leaving School at Age 15
1920	3.04	- *
1925	2.59	40.67
1930	1.80	24.43
1935	2.19	27.73
1940	2.18	27.06

*Information not available

Note: In both categories a steady reduction in the percentage of fifteen year olds leaving school can be noted. The sudden drop in 1930, which is not part of the pattern, likely reflects the bleak economic situation wherein a shortage of jobs encouraged fifteen year olds to stay in school.

C. Evidence From the Public Demand for High Schools

Further evidence relating to the desire for schooling can be secured by studying what might be called the public demand for high schools. With the enforcement process having no authority over children fifteen years of age and older, attendance at high school was essentially a voluntary activity. Although compulsory attendance legislation did not apply to the high schools, the high schools had an influence upon attendance of the younger pupils. To the extent that a high school education was held in high regard, there was an encouragement of regular attendance in the lower grades so that the successful completion of these grades could lead to a high school education.

The dramatic growth in enrolment beyond the grade eight level as the years progressed is illustrated in Table XIII.[50] The table indicates a steady progression even in the decade 1930-1940, when the total school enrolment actually declined approximately 5,000 pupils or 3.1 per cent.

In 1926 the Deputy-Minister of Education focussed upon the phenomenon in his annual report.[51] He referred to "a growing demand from all parts of Alberta and from all classes of people in the province for secondard education", a demand which was "insistent and imperative" in nature. Whereas in 1923 grade eight examinations were held in

TABLE XIII:

GROWTH IN ALBERTA HIGH SCHOOL ENROLMENT (1905-1940)

Year	No. of High School Students (i.e. gr. 9, 10, 11, 12)	No. of High School Students as a % of Total Enrolment
1905	525	2.41
1910	2,088	3.77
1915	5,233	5.38
1920	9,148	6.78
1925	14,713	9.96
1930	21,280	12.66
1935	28,648	17.06
1940	32,445	19.79

forty-eight per cent of the rural schools, it was noted that in 1926 the examinations were held in sixty-two per cent of the rural schools. In the cities, towns and villages as well, secondary schools were filled to capacity.

R.S. Patterson claims that the growth in high school enrolment during the 1920's and 1930's in large measure reflected a heightened appreciation of the value of schooling generally.[52] Factors such as an increasing industrialization and urbanization in the province and people's interest in greater democratic development he claims were instrumental in the expansion of high schools and in other educational developments as well.[53]

D. Enforcement Statistics as an Indicator

An additional method of quantifying the desire for schooling is to document the small percentage of students requiring the attention of attendance officers. Data concerning rural and village schools, in randomly-selected years, are presented in Table XIV.[54]

It should be noted that the Preliminary Letter was the means of initial contact with a family whose child had exhibited poor attendance. The replies from the letters, as indicated annually in the "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer", often revealed valid reason for non-attendance. Therefore the percentage indicated should not be interpreted as a percentage of deliberate

TABLE XIV:

DATA RELATED TO THE ENFORCEMENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN ALBERTA'S RURAL SCHOOLS (1918-1937)

Year	No. of Rural & Village Children Enrolled	No. of Preliminary Letters Issued	No. of Preliminary Letters Compared to Enrolment	No. of Families Convicted in Court	No. of Convictions Compared to Enrolment
			(as a %)		(as a %)
1918	64,633	2,152	3.33	84	0.13
1923	91,781	2,442	2.66	74	0.08
1928	96,237	2,605	2.70	62	0.06
1933	109,573	1,555	1.42	11	0.01
1937	106,415	136	0.13	6	0.006

offenders. It can be said that the last two columns refer to deliberate offenders, of whom there was an extremely small number in relation to the total enrolment.

Data concerning town and city schools in the same year are presented in Table XV.[55] The enforcement process followed in Alberta's towns and cities, when compared to that of the Attendance Branch, was less sophisticated and not as dependent upon formal correspondence. The column "Number of Warning Notices Issued" can be assumed to relate to people contacted for a second time. Unfortunately information relating to initial contact, which was usually a face-to-face encounter between attendance officer and parents, is not available but a similar percentage as indicated in the first chart would be a reasonable estimate. Again, the last two columns can be roughly interpreted as referring to deliberate offenders.

The success rate in court, in city, town, village and rural cases, was high. The number of convictions for the years concerned averaged ninety-six per cent of the number of prosecutions in the cities and towns and eighty-eight per cent in the villages and rural areas. The high rate probably indicates effective work being done by attendance personnel beforehand to ensure a solid basis for proceeding to court. The superior record for the city and towns likely reflected more thorough preliminary investigations based upon personal knowledge and personal contact

TABLE XV:

DATA RELATED TO THE ENFORCEMENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN ALBERTA'S URBAN SCHOOLS (1918-1937)

Year	No. of City & Town Children Enrolled	No. of Warning Notices Issued	Warning Notices Compared to Enrolment	No. of Families Convicted In Court	Convictions Compared to Enrolment
			(as a %)		(as a %)
1918	46,396	604	1.30	108	0.23
1923	56,264	823	1.46	76	0.14
1928	62,849	438	0.70	94	0.15
1933	61,872	317	0.51	50	0.08
1937	61,535	112	0.18	13	0.02

and the fewer number of excuses for non-attendance which could be used by a defendant. The high success rate for both probably also reflects a response by magistrates which was supportive of the work of enforcement personnel and of the intent of the legislation.

The author interprets the declining percentages relating to Preliminary Letters and Warning Notices as a reflection, in large measure, of an increasing accessibility of schools. The gradual removal of the constraints which acted as barriers to attendance led to an increased utilization of schools, in other words better attendance. There was therefore a reduced number of families having to be contacted about poor attendance.

The declining percentages relative to convictions, the author contends, illustrate an increasing attractiveness of schooling. In other words, as time went on fewer and fewer parents expressed an opposition to public schooling which would have resulted in a conviction for the non-attendance of their child.

When all of the statistics relating to the enforcement process are considered together, two very important and closely related conclusions can be drawn: (1) There was a strong desire to attend school. The vast majority of Alberta students were attending without the necessary coaxing which the enforcement process represented; and (2) An amazingly small minority of families were ever involved in the enforcement process. For example, considerably less than one per cent in any year had to be taken to court.

Conclusion

The argument which maintained that improvements in school attendance by the end of the 1920's and 1930's were mainly due to the efficiency of enforcement is questionable in at least two respects. First, it put stress upon the wrong causal factors. The enforcement process itself suffered from a variety of impediments, which were a function of either the wording of legislation or the procedures adopted to accomplish the task. The end result was a relatively ineffective bureaucratic apparatus, more significant for its preventive potential than for its efficiency of enforcement. Secondly, the argument was naive, in the sense in which it suggested that enforcement and attendance, as components of what was thought to be an obvious cause and effect relationship, could be abstracted from a setting of time, place and circumstance. This was not the nature of schooling. Sufficient importance was not given to environmental and other external factors with which attendance and school functioning always had to relate.

An alternative explanation of the gains in school attendance recognizes the significance of these factors. It maintains that the results were a concrete expression of a widespread desire for schooling, being exhibited more fully because of the change in external conditions. Rather than improvements being a function of the pressure of enforcement, the author maintains that they were due mainly to a generalized desire to attend. In other words, rather than a negative force being the central ingredient, there was a positive force at work.

Footnotes - Chapter Six

[1] McEachern, D.C. "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1922, pp. 81.

[2] A.R., 1921, pp. 102 (un-named Inspector)

[3] A.R., 1931, pp. 63 (H.R. Parker, Vermilion Inspectorate)

[4] A.R., 1928, pp. 50 (J. Morgan, Lethbridge Inspectorate)

[5] A.R., 1928, pp. 50 (H.R. Parker, Vermilion Inspectorate)

[6] "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1920, pp. 70.

[7] "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1926, pp. 51.

[8] "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1928, pp. 58.

[9] "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1935, pp. 78.

[10] source: Canada Census data for the given years.

[11] "Report of the Chief Inspector of Schools" A.R., 1925, pp. 50.

[12] A.R., 1920, pp. 60.

[13] Chalmers, John Schools of the Foothills Province (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967) pp. 74.

[14] "Report of the Chief Inspector of Schools" A.R., 1923, pp. 53

[15] Information derived from the "Report of the Chief Inspector of Schools" in the Annual Reports for the years concerned. A summary of most of the information is contained in A.R., 1923, pp. 53.

[16] "Report of the Chief Inspector of Schools" A.R., 1927, pp. 25.

[17] "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" A.R., 1921, pp. 100.

[18] "Report of the Chief Inspector of Schools" A.R., 1931, pp. 63.

[19] Ibid

[20] A.R., 1930, pp. 45 (W.H. Swift, Athabasca Inspectorate)

[21] Chalmers, John *op. cit.* pp. 75

[22] *Ibid* pp. 88.

[23] A.R., 1925, pp. 85 (un-named Inspector)

[24] A.R., 1929, pp. 52 (J.H. Hutchison, Onoway Inspectorate)

[25] A.R., 1927, pp. 47 (J.J. LeBlanc, Westlock Inspectorate)

[26] A.R., 1922, pp. 83 (un-named Inspector)

[27] Dent, Ivor "The Evolution of School Grants in Alberta" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1956, pp. 54.

[28] A.R., 1931, pp. 9.

[29] Dent, Ivor *op. cit.* pp. 36

[30] *Ibid*, pp. 40

[31] *Ibid*, pp. 17

[32] *Ibid*, pp. 25

[33] Sugden, Thomas C. "The Consolidated School Movement in Alberta 1913-1963" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1964, pp. iii.

[34] *Ibid*, pp. iv.

[35] Gorman, George W. "The Problem of Secondary Education" *The A.T.A. Magazine* (March, 1927) pp. 5.

[36] Wilson, Leroy "Perren Baker and the United Farmers of Alberta - Educational Principles and Policies of an Agrarian Government" Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970, pp. 94.

[37] *School Divisions in Alberta: Pioneering in School Administration* (Edmonton: Department of Education publication, King's Printer, 1945) pp. 7.

[38] *A.R., 1940*, pp. 9.

[39] *A.R., 1941*, pp. 8.

[40] Chalmers, John *op. cit.*, pp. 42.

[41] *A.R., 1917*, pp. 91 (T.J. Dwyer, Sylvan Lake Inspectorate).

[42] Chalmers, John *op. cit.*, pp. 84.

[43] North-West Territories, *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1888*, 52 Victoria, C.59 s.185 (5).

[44] *A.R., 1906*, pp. 18.

[45] *A.R., 1923*, pp. 18.

[46] *Ibid* pp. 19.

[47] Dent, Ivor *op. cit.* pp. 56.

[48] *A.R., 1925*, pp. 13.

[49] source: *Annual Reports* for the given years.

[50] sources: data for 1905-1925 from *A.R., 1925* pp. 11; data for 1930-1940 from *A.R., 1940*, pp. 96.

[51] *A.R., 1926*, pp. 10.

[52] Patterson, R.S. "Society and Education During the Wars and Their Interlude, 1914-1945" pp. 368 in Wilson, J. Donald; Stamp, Robert M. and Audet, L.P. (eds) *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970).

[53] *Ibid*, pp. 363.

[54] "Report of the Chief Attendance Officer" in the *Annual Reports* for each of the given years.

[55] *Ibid*

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

The history of compulsory schooling in Alberta indicates the importance ascribed to a system of common schools in a rapidly growing province. The commitment to schooling was part of a generalized phenomenon, evident in other provinces of Canada and in most Western countries during the same period of time. In each national or provincial setting government authorities reacted to a specific set of political, economic and social conditions with a firm belief in the usefulness of the common school to help achieve desired societal goals. The enthusiasm for schools led to an insistence that they be universally available and that all children of school age attend. These ideals gained expression in compulsory schooling legislation.

The development of compulsory schooling legislation can be viewed also as part of the social reform activity relating to conditions affecting children which took place throughout Canada during the period 1880-1920. Violas' work in the United States[1] and Sutherland's in Canada[2] underline the importance attached to schooling for all children in the face of societal changes caused by urbanization, industrialization and immigration. In most parts of the Continent these forces were exerting a significant degree of influence. As a response to their impact, compulsory schooling laws were considered to be appropriate instruments to assist both children and society in adjusting to a new environment.

Alberta did not escape the influence of the ideology. Its initial legislative activity meant the transposition of legislation created in a urban industrial setting into a primarily rural context. At a time when urbanization and industrialization were essentially non-existent the enactment of legislation was premature. However, enactment permitted the incorporation of a legislative framework which was useful soon thereafter, especially in relation to the impact of immigration, and later in relation to urbanization and industrialization as well.

The belief in the value of a common school system for Alberta had been expressed at an early stage. It was evident in the establishment of the organizational structure for a state school system, as well as in the passage of legislation in 1888 requiring the compulsory attendance of pupils. Later, legislation was enacted which required the compulsory operation of schools and the compulsory enforcement of attendance. The belief was expressed also in the granting of police powers of intervention to attendance officers, in the evaluation by government officials of private school instruction and in their dealing with foreign settlements in the province.

During the Territorial period the government's commitment to schooling was visible not only in the passage of legislation but in the provision of incentive grants to schools. A commitment by settlers also was evident, in the speedy erection of schools. However, limited success was achieved in ensuring the steady operation of schools and the regular attendance of pupils. During the Territorial period little more than a structure for an effective state school system had been established. The disparity between the real and the ideal conditions of schooling tended to underline the symbolic nature of the initial actions.

During the Provincial period a concerted effort was undertaken to make effective the operation of schools and the attendance of pupils. Particular attention was given to school attendance, the variable in the schooling process which was considered to be the most crucial in determining the effectiveness of the school. A separate Act of legislation dealing with attendance was passed in 1910. The Department of Education established a highly centralized and bureaucratic system to manage attendance matters in the province. It placed mandatory requirements upon local jurisdictions for the monitoring and reporting of attendance and, in the cities and towns, the enforcement of attendance by local personnel as well. At the provincial level a Chief Attendance Officer was put in charge of an Attendance Branch which coordinated and supervised all compulsory attendance activity in the province.

A rather indirect supervision over attendance in town and city schools was maintained. Attendance in these centres was not considered by the Department to be a significant problem. Most of the Department's attention and concern was directed to rural and village schools, through a system of direct control and supervision. In fact, it can be said that the history of compulsory schooling in Alberta is predominantly a story of the relationship between the government and the rural schools of the province.

In rural districts levels of attendance at given times were dependent upon a variety of factors which either governed the accessibility of schools or the extent and quality of the education offered. Examples of significant factors were the general economic milieu, the nature of government grants to schools, constraints relating to pioneer conditions, the extent of school district re-organization, teacher supply, and the availability of provision for special needs of children. Not until the formation of school divisions in the late 1930's could these powerful variables be controlled to the extent that satisfactory levels of attendance were possible.

The contentment with attendance levels as expressed by Department officials in the late 1930's and early 1940's encouraged a dismantling of the regulatory machinery at the provincial level and signalled the end of a "life cycle" of governmental concern about school attendance. At the earliest stage, the enforcment of attendance was left to the discretion of local boards and the government attempted to influence attendance through incentive grants. After 1910, enforcement was made mandatory and a centralized system of monitoring attendance and regulating enforcement was put into operation. School attendance continued as a topical concern until the late 1930's and the early 1940's, when it was no longer considered to be a problem and the local option for enforcement was again introduced.

Even though Department officials and others claimed that there was an essential cause and effect relationship between the enforcement of attendance and the attendance levels, enforcement activities appear to have had limited influence. Enforcement was often inconsistent and inefficient. The process was hindered by a number of internal constraints, such as the generous exemptions granted in legislation, the scope for subjective judgment on the part of enforcement personnel, bureaucratic inefficiencies, and the heavy workload of school inspectors in the field. In actual practice, the preventive function that the process performed likely had more impact than enforcement activities themselves.

The enforcement actions related to compulsory schooling legislation, whether it meant enforcing the attendance of children or enforcing the erection and operation of schools, involved a very small number of people in Alberta.

The 'target population' of both legislation and enforcement was a minority of citizens who did not ascribe a high priority to public schooling. In a very real sense, personnel assigned the tasks of enforcing compulsory schooling legislation were cultural agents, reflecting in their actions a dominant cultural norm about the essential role of schooling in society. Often enforcement personnel were cultural agents in a more specific sense as well, bringing to bear an Anglo-Saxon perspective to their involvement with people outside of this cultural context.

To the majority of Albertans, schooling was a social activity which was given high priority. An expressed desire for schools and schooling was a constant and generalized dynamic throughout Alberta's history. The desire reflected itself in the voluntary erection of schools in pioneer settlements, in attendance which occurred to the extent that environmental and other constraints permitted, in the voluntary attendance of children who by age were not required to attend, and in the demand for high school instruction. To these people, compulsory schooling legislation acted as a formal support of their belief in the value of schooling. Whereas the legislation could be interpreted to be an element of social control over an unwilling minority, it also acted as a document of reasurance to a willing majority.

For any law, such as compulsory schooling legislation or otherwise, to have served any purpose at all, there had to be a recognizable disparity between the beliefs and actions of a majority and those of a minority. Understandings derived from the sociology of law help explain the reason for the necessary difference in attitude and practice between the groups. Thurman Arnold, in an article entitled "Law as Symbolism" claims that what we call law is really "a way of writing about human institutions in terms of ideals rather than observed facts".[3] In other words, our laws do not represent what all of us do but what all of us ought to do. A law would serve no useful purpose if it demanded behavior already complied with in the actions of all to whom the law was directed.

Laws pertaining to compulsory schooling, when viewed from within this context, referred to twin ideals, represented by the continual operation of schools and the uninterrupted attendance of all children of school age. Schooling, as a mammoth social enterprise in Alberta, was characterized by a gradual narrowing of the gap between real and ideal conditions. During the Territorial period, the existing conditions were far removed from the ideal which gained expression in the demands of legislation. In this symbolic stage of development, enforcement, if it had occurred to any great extent, would have been dysfunctional in a setting where constraints prevented an approximation of the ideal. During the Provincial period, the expectations represented by the ideal became realistically attainable. The bureaucratic stage which resulted was centered around a sophisticated enforcement mechanism, designed to improve school attendance and the operation of schools. In this setting compulsory schooling legislation had a continuing usefulness.

In contemporary society, however, we note the close approximation of real and ideal conditions. With the presence of supportive conditions for the attendance of pupils and the operation of schools and a broad consensus on the importance of schooling, the need for enforcement legislation may no longer exist. It is almost as if a third stage, beyond the two which were articulated by Tyack and substantiated in this study, has been attained which justifies the repeal of compulsory schooling legislation.

It is important to note that it was not the 'push' of enforcement, which determined, over time, the greater utilization of schools in Alberta; it was the 'pull' of factors such as the desire for schooling and the presence of supportive conditions for the operation of schools and the attendance of pupils. Positive rather than negative forces were the significant variables. In essence, the history of schooling in Alberta is not so much a story of compulsory schooling as it is of voluntary schooling. In fact, as Charles Woltz claims, "if because of changing public opinion education should cease to be voluntary on the part of most, I doubt very much that it could actually be made compulsory, whatever provision the law should make".[4]

It is unfortunate that the label "compulsory" is still accorded prominence in contemporary discourse relating to schooling. Attitudes and structures which emphasize compulsion, similarly, seem inappropriate. What is necessary is a broad re-examination of vocabulary, attitude and practice in the light of the actual rather than the imagined nature of schooling in Alberta's past and in relation to present day circumstances.

Recommendations for Future Study

The present study has relied quite heavily upon Department of Education records. Research based upon other perspectives would help test the authenticity of Departmental explanations and also would help 'round out' an understanding of the history of compulsory schooling in Alberta. Specific recommendations are as follows:

1. There is need for a study of compulsory schooling in urban Alberta. Such a study would provide a basis for evaluating the claim that Departmental officials were primarily concerned with the attendance of rural children. It also would help determine the extent to which attendance was viewed as an urban school problem.

2. A study of the impact of compulsory schooling legislation upon specific populations would be valuable. Of particular interest are those groups which may have been

adversely affected by the requirements relating to both the erection and operation of schools and to the attendance of pupils. It would be useful to know, for example, whether all immigrant groups were equally supportive of these legal provisions for the schooling of their children. Did labour and farm groups readily endorse the requirements or did they feel that they were being regulated by unjust legislation?

3. A study of compulsory schooling from a 'person based' perspective is suggested. Depending upon the availability of data, the records and recollections of attendance officers and of classroom teachers, for example, could form the basis of a useful study.

Additional research is suggested to help evaluate the nature of voluntary activity in relation to the erection and operation of schools and the attendance of pupils. Micro-study techniques and quantitative analysis can both be useful in determining the characteristics of voluntary activity, for example the speed of erection of school districts and the possible influence of ethnicity upon the priority given to the task. Comparative analysis of voluntary activity on an inter-provincial level is possible and desirable as well, for example between Alberta and Quebec, where an authentic voluntary environment existed until the enactment of compulsory schooling legislation in 1942.

Footnotes - Chapter Seven

[1] Violas, Paul C. The Training of the Urban Working Class: A History of Twentieth Century American Education (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1978)

[2] Sutherland, Neil Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

[3] Arnold, Thurman W. "Law as Symbolism" Sociology of Law - Selected Readings Aubert, Vilhelm (ed.) (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969) pp. 46.

[4] Woltz, Charles K. "Compulsory Attendance at School" Law and Contemporary Problems 20 (Winter, 1955) pp. 22.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

A. Theses

Coulter, Rebecca. "Alberta's Department of Neglected Children, 1909-1929: A Case Study in Child Saving" Master of Education Thesis University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1977.

Dent, Ivor. "Evolution of School Grants in Alberta" Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta. Edmonton, 1956.

Goresky, Isidore. "The Beginning and Growth of the Alberta School System" Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1944.

McDonald, Neil. "The School as an Agent of Nationalism in the North-West Territories, 1884-1905" Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1971.

Patterson, Robert. "F.W.G. Haultain and Education in the Early West" Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1961.

Selinger, Alphonse. "The Contributions of D.J. Goggin to the Development of Education in the North-West Territories 1893-1902" Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1960.

Sugden, Thomas. "The Consolidated School Movement in Alberta, 1913-1963" Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1964.

Wilson, Leroy. "Perren Baker and the United Farmers of Alberta - Educational Principles and Policies of an Agrarian Government" Master of Education Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970.

II. PUBLISHED MATERIAL

A. Government Reports, Documents and Statutes

Alberta. Department of Education, Annual Reports, 1905-1942 (Edmonton, Government Printer)

________. An Act Respecting Truancy and Compulsory School Attendance, 1910 (Second Session) 1 George V, C.8, Statutes of Alberta.

________. *The Statute Law Amendment Act, 1911*, 2 George V, C.4 Statutes of Alberta.

________. *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, and The Truancy Act, 1913 (Second Session)*, 4 George V, C.16 *Statutes of Alberta*.

________. *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and The Truancy Act, 1915*, 5 George V, C.10 *Statutes of Alberta*.

________. *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The Truancy Act, and The School Grants Act*, 1916, 6 George V, C.9 *Statutes of Alberta*.

________. *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and The School Attendance Act, 1918*, 8 George V, C.39 *Statutes of Alberta*.

________. *An Act to Amend The School Ordinance, The School Assessment Ordinance, The School Grants Act, and The School Attendance Act, 1919*, 9 George V, C.32, *Statutes of Alberta*.

________. *The School Attendance Act Amendment Act, 1941*, 5 George VI, C.36 *Statutes of Alberta*.

________. *School Grants Act, 1913*, 4 George V, C.15 *Statutes of Alberta.*

________. *After Three Years: School Divisions in Alberta*. (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1940)

________. *School Divisions in Alberta: Pioneering in School Administration* (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1945)

British Columbia. *Public School Act, 1885*, 48 Victoria, c.25 *Statutes of British Columbia*.

Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1901*, 4 vols. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1902)

________. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1911*, 6 vols. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1912)

________. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1921*, 6 vols. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1925)

______. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1931*, 13 vols. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1936)

______. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1941*, 13 vols. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1946)

City of Edmonton. *Annual Reports of the Edmonton Public School Board 1906-1912* (Edmonton: Edmonton Public School Board)

North-West Territories. *Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1898* (Regina: Government Printer, 1899)

______. *Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction, 1900* (Regina: Government Printer, 1901)

______. *Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1901-1904* (Regina: Government Printer)

______. *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1884*, 48 Victoria, C.5

______. *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1885*, 49 Victoria, C.3.

______. *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1888*, 52 Victoria, C.59.

______. *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1892*, 56 Victoria, C.92.

______. *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1896*, 60 Victoria, C.2.

______. *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1898*, 62 Victoria, C.75.

______. *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1901*, 1 Edward VII, C.31.

B. Newspapers

The Calgary Daily Herald

The Edmonton Bulletin

The Edmonton Capital

The Edmonton Journal

The Regina Leader

C. Books and Articles

Anderson, J.T.M. The Education of the New Canadian (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1918)

Arnold, Thurman W. "Law as Symbolism" Sociology of Law-Selected Readings Aubert, Vilhelm (ed.) (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969) pp. 46-51.

Bargen, Peter F. The Legal Status of the Canadian Public School Pupil (Toronto: The MacMillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1961)

Boyd, William. The History of Western Education (London: Adam and Charles Black Ltd., 1952)

Brubacher, John S. A History of the Problems of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1947)

Butts, R. Freeman. A Cultural History of Western Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. Inc., 1955)

Carlile, Amos B. "One Hundred Years of Compulsory School Attendance Laws in Massachusetts - Hostorical Background" Educational Administration and Supervision 40, (January, 1954) pp. 1-10.

Chalmers, John. Schools of the Foothills Province (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967)

Charyk, John C. The Little White School House (Saskatoon: Western Producer Press, 1968)

Cohen, Sol (ed.) Education in the United States - A Documentary History (New York: Random House Inc., 1974)

Cubberley, Ellwood P. The History of Education (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1920)

Defoe, J.W. "Economic History of the Prairie Provinces 1870-1913" in Vol. 20 of Shortt, Adam and Doughty, Arthur G. (eds.) Canada and Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914) pp. 320-343.

Ehrlich, Eugen. Fundamental Principles of the Sociology of Law (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975)

Fleming, W.G. Educational Opportunity: The Pursuit of Equality (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1974)

Frost, S.E. Jr. and Bailey, K.P. Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Western Education (2nd Ed.) (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1973)

Ganong, Carey K. and Pearce, Richard W. Law and Society (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1965)

Good, H.G. A History of Western Education (2nd Ed.)

Goodman, Paul. Compulsory Mis-Education (New York: Horizon Press, 1964)

Gorman, George W. "The Problem of Secondary Education The A.T.A. Magazine (March, 1927) pp. 3-7.

Greer, Colin. The Great School Legend (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972)

Hansen, J.M. "Sacred Cows: The Compulsory Elements of Schooling" Educational Leadership 31 (March, 1974) pp. 512-515.

Illich, Ivan. De Schooling Society (New York: Harper and Rowe, Publishers, 1970)

Jernegan, M.W. "Compulsory Education in the Southern Colonies" School Review 27 (June, 1919) pp. 405-425.

Johnson, F. Henry. A History of Public Education in British Columbia (Vancouver: Publications Centre, University of British Columbia, 1961.

Johnson, H.M. "Are Compulsory Attendance Laws Outdated?" Phi Delta Kappan 55 (December, 1973) pp. 226-232.

Katz, Joseph. Society, Schools and Progress in Canada (Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1969)

Katz, Michael B. Class, Bureaucracy and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971)

________. The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovations in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968)

________. (ed.) School Reform: Past and Present (Boston: Little, Brown and Co,, 1971)

Katz, Michael B. and Mattingly, Paul (eds.) Education and Social Change (New York: New York University Press, 1975)

Knight, Edgar W. Twenty Centuries of Education (New York: Ginn and Company, 1940)

Landes, William M. and Solmon, Lewis C. "Compulsory Schooling Legislation: An Economic Analysis of Law and Social Change in the Nineteenth Century" The Journal of Economic History 32 (March 1972) pp.54-91.

Lawr, Douglas and Gidney, Robert (eds.) Educating Canadians: A Documentary History of Public Education (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co. Ltd., 1973)

Lupul, Manoly "Educational Crises in the New Dominion to 1917" in Wilson, J. Donald; Stamp, Robert M. and Audet, Louis-Philippe (eds.) Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970) pp. 266-289.

McKee, G.A. The Story of Edmonton School District No. 7 1885-1935 (Edmonton: Edmonton Public School Board, 1935)

Miller, James C. Rural Schools in Canada (New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1913)

Oliver, Edmund H. "Growth of Settlements and Institutions in Saskatchewan and Alberta: General History 1870-1912" in Vol. 19 of Shortt, Adam and Houghty, Arthur G. (eds.) Canada and Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914) pp. 138-161.

Patterson, Robert S. "Society and Education During the Wars and Their Interlude, 1914-1945" in Wilson, J. Donald; Stamp, Robert M. and Audet, Louis-Philippe (eds.) Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970) pp. 360-383.

Perrin, J.W. "Beginnings in Compulsory Education" Educational Review 25 (March, 1903) pp. 204-248.

Phillips, Charles E. Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Co. Ltd., 1957)

Prentice, Alison L. The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977)

Prentice, Alison L. and Houston, Susan E. (eds.) Family, School and Society in Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975)

Reid, J.H.S. "Compulsory Education in a Free Society" Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education - Volume 2 (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1959) pp. 49-58.

Sawer, Geoffrey. Law and Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1965)

Smith, W.D. Lester. Compulsory Education in England (Paris: U.N.E.S.C.O., 1951)

Stamp, Robert M. "Evolving Patterns of Education: English Canada From the 1870's to 1914" in Wilson, J. Donald; Stamp, Robert M. and Audet, Louis-Philippe (eds.) Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970) pp. 290-313.

______. School Days: A Century of Memories (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1975)

Steinhilber, August W. and Sokolowsky, Carl J. State Law on Compulsory Attendance (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966)

Sutherland, Neil. Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976)

Thayer, V.T. Formative Ideas in American Education (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1965)

Thomas, L.G. The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959)

Tibble, J.W. (ed.) The Extra Year: The Raising of the School Leaving Age (London: London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1970)

Tyack, David B. The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975)

______. "Ways of Seeing: An Essay on the History of Compulsory Schooling" Harvard Educational Review 46 (August, 1976) pp. 356-389.

Tyerman, Maurice J. Truancy (London: University of London Press, 1968)

Violas, Paul C. The Training of the Urban Working Class: A History of Twentieth Century American Education (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1978)

Welter, Rush. American Writings on Popular Education: The Nineteenth Century (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1971)

Woltz, C.K. "Compulsory Attendance at School" Law and Contemporary Problems 20 (Winter, 1955) pp. 3-22

APPENDIX A:

THE TRUANCY ACT, 1910

210

ALBERTA
LEGISLATIVE LIBRARY

1910

(SECOND SESSION)

CHAPTER 8.

An Act respecting Truancy and Compulsory School Attendance.

(Assented to December 16, 1910.)

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, enacts as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as "*The Truancy Act.*"

2. In this Act—
- *(a)* "Inspector" shall mean an Inspector of Schools;
- *(b)* "Principal" shall mean the head teacher of a public, separate or private school;
- *(c)* "Regulations" shall mean regulations made under the authority of the Department of Education;
- *(d)* "School" shall mean a public or a separate school or a private school at which instruction is given regularly in reading, spelling, writing, English literature, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic;
- *(e)* "City or town school district" shall mean and include a town school district as defined by *The School Ordinance,*
- *(f)* "Minister" shall mean the Minister of Education for the Province of Alberta.

3. Every child who has attained the age of seven years and who has not yet attained the full age of fourteen years shall attend school for the full term during which the school of the district in which he resides is open each year, unless excused for the reasons hereinafter mentioned.

4. A person who has received into his house another person's
child under the age of fourteen, who is a resident with him or
is in his care or legal custody, shall be subject to the same duty
with respect to the instruction of such child during such resi-
dence as a parent and shall be liable to be proceeded against
as in the case of a parent, if he fails to cause such child to be
instructed as required by this Act; but the duty of the parent
under this Act shall not be thereby affected or diminished.

5. A parent, guardian or other person shall not be liable to any penalty imposed by this Act in respect of a child if—

(*a*) The child is under efficient instruction at home or elsewhere;

(*b*) The child is unable to attend school by reason of sickness or other unavoidable cause;

(*c*) There is no public or separate school which the child has the right to attend within two miles, measured from the nearest point of the quarter section or lesser parcel of land upon which the child resides by the nearest highway from such child's residence, if he is under ten years of age, or within three miles if he is over that age;

(*d*) There is not sufficient accommodation in the school which the child has the right to attend;

(*e*) The child has been excused, as hereinafter provided, by a justice of the peace or by the principal of the school which the child is entitled to attend;

(*f*) The child has passed the public school leaving examination prescribed by the Department of Education or has completed a course which gives him an equivalent standing; or

(*g*) In the case of schools situated within the limits of a city such parent, guardian or other person submit a statement signed within one month from the date of the complaint, by the superintendent or principal of such city schools, certifying that such child is under efficient instruction at home or elsewhere.

6. No child under the age of fourteen years who has not a valid excuse under this Act shall be employed by any person during school hours while the public school of the district in which the child resides is in session, and any person who employs a child in contravention of this section shall incur a penalty not exceeding twenty dollars for each offence.

(2) Where in the opinion of a justice of the peace, police magistrate or principal of the school attended by any child the services of such child are required in husbandry or in urgent and necessary household duties, or for the necessary maintenance of such child or of some person dependent upon him, such justice, police magistrate or principal may by certificate setting forth the reasons therefor relieve such child from attending school for any period not exceeding six weeks during each public school term.

7. The school board of every city or town school district shall appoint, control and pay one or more truant officers for the enforcement of this Act and notice of such appointment shall be forthwith given in writing to the Department of Education.

(2) The Minister may from time to time appoint such truant officer or officers as may be required for the enforcement of

this Act in districts that are not included within any city or town school district and may provide for the remuneration of such truant officer or officers either by the school districts affected or by the Department of Education as the Minister in his discretion may see fit.

(3) In the event of no appointment having been made as provided by subsection (1) of section 7 hereof before the first day of February in any year, the Minister may appoint such truant officer or officers as he may deem necessary and fix the remuneration which shall be paid by the school district affected and notice of such appointment shall be given in writing to the school board.

(4) A truant officer shall for the purposes of this Act be vested with the powers of a peace officer, and shall have authority to enter theatres, playhouses, places of public entertainment and amusement, factories, workshops, stores, shops and all other places where children may be employed or congregated and to perform such duties as may be necessary for the enforcement of this Act.

(5) The board making the appointment may make rules, not inconsistent with the provisions of the Act or with the regulations, for the direction of the truant officer or officers and the enforcement of the Act, such rules to be subject to the approval of the Minister.

(6) In the event of any board failing to make rules and to submit the same to the Minister for approval as provided in the next preceding subsection, the Minister may make such rules as he may deem necessary, and the same shall have the same force and effect as if made by the board.

(7) Notice of every appointment made under this Act shall be given by the body making such appointment to the inspector within whose inspectorate the truant officer has jurisdiction.

(8) Every truant officer shall report monthly to the body appointing him and annually to the Minister of Education according to the forms prescribed by the regulations.

(9) Every inspector shall inquire into the conditions existing in all districts under his supervision not included within any city or town school district, with respect to the observance of the provisions of this Act and he shall report to the Minister from time to time as the latter may direct, any cases of alleged violation of the Act that may come to his notice.

8. Every truant officer shall examine into all cases of truancy within his knowledge or when requested to do so by an inspector, the superintendent of neglected and dependent children for the province, a school trustee, teacher, other truant officer or ratepayer, and shall warn the truants and their parents or guardians, in writing, of the consequences of truancy; and shall also notify the parent, guardian or other person having

Provincial Library

the charge or control of a child between the ages mentioned in section 3 of this Act not attending school as required by this Act, to cause the child to attend some school forthwith.

(2) A truant officer appointed under this Act shall have the right to send a child suspected of truancy either home or to school and to accompany him thereto if deemed necessary.

9. A parent, guardian, or other person having the charge or control of any child between the ages mentioned in section 3 of this Act, who, after having been warned as provided for in the preceding section, neglects or refuses to cause such child to attend some school, unless such child is excused from attendance as provided by this Act, shall incur a penalty of not more than ten dollars.

(2) The justice of the peace or police magistrate trying a complaint under this section may instead of imposing a penalty require a person convicted of an offence under this section to give a bond in the penal sum of one hundred dollars, with one or more sureties to be approved by him conditioned that the person convicted shall after the expiration of five days cause the child to attend some school as required by this Act.

10. Every truant officer shall institute, or cause to be instituted proceedings against a parent, guardian or other person having charge or control of a child, or against any other person violating any of the provisions of this Act.

11. The teacher or the principal of every public or separate school shall once in each week of the school year report to the truant officer of the city, town or district in which the school is situated, the names, ages and residences of all pupils on the school register who have not attended school as required by this Act together with such other information as the truant officer may require for enforcing the provisions of this Act.

(2) The teacher or principal, as the case may be, shall also forthwith report to the truant officer every case of expulsion.

12. Every person and officer charged with the duty of enforcing any provision of this Act who neglects to perform the duty imposed upon him shall incur a penalty not exceeding ten dollars for each offence.

13. The penalties imposed by this Act shall be recoverable on summary conviction before a justice of the peace or a police magistrate.

14. The provisions of part XV of chapter 146 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906 (known as *The Criminal Code*), in reference to summary convictions, shall be applicable to all proceedings under this Act.

15. The conviction, rule or order in respect of any offence against this Act shall not be removed by *certiorari* or otherwise at the instance of the Crown or any person into the Supreme Court.

16. Where a person is charged with an offence under this Act in respect to a child who is alleged to be within the ages mentioned in section 3 of this Act and the child appears to the court to be within such ages the child shall for the purposes of this Act, be deemed to be within such ages unless the contrary is proved.

17. Nothing in this Act shall be held to require the child of a Roman Catholic who is a separate school supporter to attend a public school or to require the child of a public school supporter to attend a Roman Catholic separate school.

(2) No penalty shall be imposed in respect to the absence of a child from school on a day regarded as a holy day by the church or religious denomination to which such child belongs.

18. This Act shall come into effect on January 1st, 1911.

Provincial Library

APPENDIX B:

SAMPLE CORRESPONDENCE ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION RELATED TO SANCTIONED SCHOOL ABSENCE (1917)

ADDRESS YOUR REPLY TO
THE DEPUTY MINISTER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DO NOT WRITE ABOUT MORE THAN
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY LETTER

IN REPLYING GIVE NAME AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
AND
BE CAREFUL TO REFER
TO
FILE No. T-C 16-17

O'B/B

Edmonton, March 29th, 1917.

Dear Sir or Madam:-

Owing to the unusual conditions arising out of the present war there is quite a shortage of labour at the present time and help will be difficult to secure during seeding operations. Boys of 12 years of age or over may be required to assist on the farm during this period and if parents of such boys request that they be allowed to keep these pupils out of school in order to make use of their services you could deal with the cases by taking advantage of Section 6 subsection 2 of the School Attendance Act which is as follows:-

> "Where in the opinion of a justice of the peace, police magistrate or principal of the school attended by any child the services of such child are required in husbandry or in urgent and necessary household duties, or for the necessary maintenance of such child or of some person dependent upon him, such justice, police magistrate or principal may by certificate setting forth the reasons therefor relieve such child from attending school for any period not exceeding six weeks during each public school term."

This certificate may be given covering the time the pupil will be required at home, such period of course not to exceed six weeks. While no special form of certificate is required one similar to the enclosed may be used. A copy of each certificate issued should be forwarded to the School Attendance Branch.

Your obedient servant,

CHIEF ATTENDANCE OFFICER.

APPENDIX C:

SAMPLES OF DEPARTMENTAL CORRESPONDENCE INDICATING THE BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE MATTERS (1917-1920)

DEPARTMENT
EDUCATION ALBERTA

FILE NO. T-C2-17.

Edmonton,

Dear Sir or Madam:-

As you will note from the enclosed Attendance Return Forms, teachers are now required to complete and forward to the School Attendance Branch, Monthly Attendance Returns. More care should be exercised in completing these Returns as I find that in some cases the teacher neglects to insert the name or number of the district, the number of days the school was open during the period reported or and his own name and address.

The children's names should be given in full, their exact ages ascertained, the number of days they attended, the grade they are in and the exact distance they have to travel to reach the school always inserted. Under the heading "parent or guardian" give not merely Mr. or Mrs. but the full name and also the Post Office address. An effort should be made in each case to determine just why the pupil was not enrolled or why he attended irregularly; and under the headings "excusable or inexcusable" these words should not be repeated but rather the exact cause of the child's absence or irregular attendance.

Even although all pupils of school age in the district attended regularly the form should, nevertheless, be returned at the end of the month as the Minister of Education expects this Branch to have a monthly report on the attendance from every school in operation. When there are no cases to report this fact may be noted on the Return.

Your obedient servant,

CHIEF ATTENDANCE OFFICER.

OK- J.T.R.

ADDRESS YOUR REPLY TO
THE DEPUTY MINISTER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DEPARTMENT
EDUCATION ALBERTA

DO NOT WRITE ABOUT MORE THAN
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY LETTER

IN REPLYING GIVE NAME AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
AND
BE CAREFUL TO REFER
TO
FILE No. J.C. 33-17

Edmonton, September 20th, 1917.

Sir or Madam:-

Enclosed you will find the Monthly Attendance blank forms for reporting the irregular or non-attendance of pupils for the balance of the year.

In reporting, care should be taken to report only cases as indicated by the head note on the return, i. e. pupils between the ages of seven and fifteen years inclusive living in the school district but not enrolled and those between same ages who have not attended at least 75% of the time the school was in operation during the month.

Where pupils are reported as excusable, it should be stated why pupils are excusable under the Attendance Act; and if for work, certificates should be issued by teacher, as provided by subsection two of section six of the Attendance Act and forwarded to this Department with the Monthly return. These certificates should indicate clearly the date of beginning and terminating of exemption period and should bear the name and number of S. D. as well as teacher's name. The observance of the above instructions will greatly facilitate the administration of the School Attendance Act.

Your obedient servant,

Chief Attendance Officer.

ADDRESS YOUR REPLY TO
THE DEPUTY MINISTER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DEPARTMENT EDUCATION ALBERTA

DO NOT WRITE ABOUT MORE THAN
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY LETTER

IN REPLYING GIVE NAME AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
AND
BE CAREFUL TO REFER
TO
FILE No. T-C37-17

Edmonton, December 1917.

Re Census.

To The Secretary:-

The enclosed form for giving the names and ages of all children within the bounds of the S. D. who have attained the age of six years and who have not yet attained the full age of fifteen years, is required to be completed in duplicate, one copy to be the property of the school for the use of the teacher, in completing the Monthly Attendance Returns, and the other copy is to be forwarded to the Department of Education, Attendance Branch, within 30 days after January 1st, 1918.

The greatest care should be exercised in completing the return as upon its accuracy will largely depend the successful enforcement of the School Attendance Act in the Province of Alberta during the year 1918.

Your obedient servant,

Deputy Minister.

ADDRESS YOUR REPLY TO
THE DEPUTY MINISTER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DO NOT WRITE ABOUT MORE THAN
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY LETTER

IN REPLYING GIVE NAME AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
AND
BE CAREFUL TO REFER
TO
FILE No. T.-------- 19

DCM/WM

Edmonton, December 1st, 1919.

Sir:-

The Daily School Register for the year 1920 will be forwarded to all secretary-treasuers of schools districts throughout the Province, during the present month and I wish to call your attention to the forms provided in duplicate for the completion of a School Census for the year 1920.

It is noted that you have not to date provided this Department with a Census of the children of your district for the year 1919 and as the School Census is a necessity, not only for the Department of Education but for the teacher in charge of your school during the year, the matter of preparing the Census should be taken up by you at the earliest date possible, in order that it may be forwarded to the Department immediately after the beginning of the year 1920.

If your school is at present in operation, the teacher who is in charge may be in a position to assist you in procuring the information necessary for the School Census and I am forwarding this letter in the hopq that this matter may receive your attention, so that our records for the year 1920, showing the children between the ages of 6 and 15, living within the bounds of your district, may be complete

I wish to point out that children living outside the bounds of your district should not be included in this School Census, neither should children who have qttained the age of 15, nor thoseunder the age of 6.

Instructions regarding School Census will be found on the page immediately preceding the School Census form in the school register.

Your obedient servant,

Chief Attendance Officer.

ADDRESS YOUR REPLY TO
THE DEPUTY MINISTER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DO NOT WRITE ABOU
ONE SUBJECT IN A

IN REPLYING GIVE NAME AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
AND
BE CAREFUL TO REFER
TO
FILE NO. 03 -- 20

Edmonton, February 23rd, 1920.

Sir or Madam:-

The School Census showing the children between the ages of 6 and 15 within the bounds of your district, has not yet come to hand. As this form is urgently needed, I beg to request that it be prepared and forwarded to this Department with the least possible delay. The necessary forms for its completion are contained in duplicate in the 1920 School Register. One copy should be forwarded to this Department and the other retained for the use of the teacher during the present year. Kindly prepare this Report giving full information as indicated thereon. In reckoning the distance, care should be taken to compute it from the nearest point of the quarter-section on which the parent or guardian resides to the school site by public highway.

Your obedient servant,

Chief Attendance Officer.

ADDRESS YOUR REPLY TO
THE DEPUTY MINISTER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DO NOT WRITE ABOUT MORE THAN
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY LETTER

IN REPLYING GIVE NAME AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
AND
BE CAREFUL TO REFER
TO
FILE No. C-1 -20

DCM/WM

Edmonton, January 6th, 1920.

Sir:-

I am enclosing herewith supply of Attendance Officer's Monthly Attendance form for the year 1920, together with a supply of Form 1, "List of Truants and Temporary Absentees" for the use of the principals of the schools of your district during the year.

You should call to the attention of the principals of your schools the necessity of completing these forms promptly at the end of each week and handing the completed form to the Attendance Officer appointed by your board in accordance with section 7 of the School Attendance Act, in order that he may be in a position to carry out his duties throughout the year in an efficient manner.

The Attendance Officer should be instructed to complete his Monthly Attendance form and forward at the earliest date possible after the close of each month that the school of your district is in operation, giving full particulars as indicated by the form.

It is the duty of the secretary-treasurer to advise this Department within 30 days after January 1st, the name and address of the Attendance Officer of your school district for the year. As in the past this has not always been done as promptly as it is necessary, I trust that this matter will receive your prompt and careful attention.

Your obedient servant,

Chief Attendance Officer.

APPENDIX D:

ILLUSTRATIONS OF LEGALISTIC PROCEDURES AS PART OF THE ENFORCEMENT PROCESS

(EXCERPTS FROM THE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE ACT AS AMENDED IN 1918 AND 1919)

"Provided, however, that it shall not be necessary that the attendance officer who gives or serves this notice in writing prescribed in Section 8 hereof shall be the same person as the one who lays the information before the magistrate and the following shall constitute "prima facie" evidence of an offense under subsection 1 of section 9 hereof; filing with the magistrate the affidavit prescribed in subsection 3 of section 8 hereof and the production of the school register the entries in which show the absence from school of the child on the days specified in the information or complaint."

"SCHEDULE A.

"To ....(name and address of parent or guardian.)
"Take notice that unless within five days from the receipt by you of this notice you cause your child(or ward) ....(child's or ward's name to be inserted here) to attend school you will be liable to prosecution under The School Attendance Act of the Province of Alberta.

"And further take notice that if within twelve months after the date of service of this notice upon you you fail to cause the above mentioned child or any other child of whom you have charge or control between the ages of seven and fifteen years to attend school and continue in regular attendance thereat you will be liable to prosecution under the said Act without further notice.

....
Attendance Officer."

"SCHEDULE B.

"CANADA
"PROVINCE OF ALBERTA
"To Wit:

I, (fill in name) of . . . . . . in the Province of Alberta, (occupation), make oath and say:

"1. I did on ....the......day of ...., 19..., deposit in the post office at ...., in the Province of Alberta, a fully prepaid registered letter addressed to (insert name of parent or guardian) containing a true copy of the notice hereto attached and now shown to me and marked 'Exhibit A' to this my affidavit.

"2. That hereto attached and now shown to me and marked 'Exhibit B' to this my affidavit is the receipt of the postmaster at .... for the said registered letter.

"Sworn before me at ....
in the Province of Alberta,
this .... day of ....,
A.D. 19 ....

....

"A Notary Public, A Commissioner or
a Justice of the Peace in and for
the Province of Alberta."

APPENDIX E:

SAMPLES OF DEPARTMENTAL CORRESPONDENCE INDICATING THE BUREAUCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF MATTERS RELATED TO THE OPERATION OF SCHOOLS (1917)

ADDRESS YOUR REPLY TO
THE DEPUTY MINISTER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DEPARTMENT
EDUCATION ALBERTA

DO NOT WRITE ABOUT MORE THAN
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY LETTER

IN REPLYING GIVE NAME AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
AND
BE CAREFUL TO REFER
TO
FILE No. 06 C 21-17

R.H.B.

Edmonton, May 4th 1917

Sir:-

We are still without definite information as to the operation of your school for the present term, and would much appreciate it if you would complete and return the enclosed form 133 if school is now open, or form 136 if school is not open.

Should you require assistance in obtaining a teacher, kindly forward also, the enclosed application form, duly completed, when we will endeavour to help you to secure a teacher. If you wish to leave the matter entirely in our hands, for a short period, sign the form of authority (C), and return it with the application.

Your early reply will greatly facilitate the work of the Department, in reference to the operation of rural schools.

Your obedient Servant,

Registrar.

ADDRESS YOUR REPLY TO
THE DEPUTY MINISTER
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
EDMONTON, ALBERTA

DEPARTMENT
EDUCATION ALBERTA

DO NOT WRITE ABOUT MORE THAN
ONE SUBJECT IN ANY LETTER

IN REPLYING GIVE NAME AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
AND
BE CAREFUL TO REFER
TO
FILE No. 07 C. 31-17

O.K.
RAB

Edmonton, August

Sir:

I beg to advise you that in order to simplify the work of reporting to the Department regarding the operation of schools, we have decided to discontinue the use of form 133 which we required from the secretary when the school was opened and also form (a) which we asked the teacher to send in.

It would appear from our observation that the agreement between the board and the teacher state the logical starting point from which to secure all our information regarding the operation of the school and in future, we shall go on the assumption that if a school is in operation the agreement on file in the Department will show this fact at once. We are, therefore, going to ask the secretaries and teachers to make a strong point to see that the agreement between the board and the teacher is completed and forwarded to the Department as early as possible. This agreement will, therefore, take the place of form 133. Form 134 and 135, we shall still require from you in case your school is closed at any time during the term for more than three days for any other cause than that of statutory holidays. We shall also require the secretaries whose schools have not opened in any term to send us form 136 notifying us of the reason therefor. This will be followed by the agreement between the board and the teacher as soon as the school is in operation. The notice you have posted up in the school-room addressed to the teacher is, therefore, cancelled.

We are enclosing with this letter a record from our mailing list showing the name and address of the teacher whom we understand is in charge of the school for the present term. If this is incorrect either in name, address, or both particulars, will you kindly advise us promptly of any change we should make to complete our records.

If you have not yet sent a copy of the agreement with your teacher, it will be sufficient if you merely send us the agreement as we will change our records from that. If the change is merely a change of address on the part of the teacher, a brief memo. to that effect will have immediate attention. We are addressing a letter to each of the teachers asking for co-operation with the secretaries to facilitate the getting in of the agreements and we feel that the new plan will be a considerable saving in time and trouble to both secretaries and the Department.

Your obedient servant,

Registrar.